

The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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Forgotten Source on John Bapst, S.J.	- - -	67
William L. Lucey		
Italo-Ethiopian Adventure	- - - - -	75
Kurt von Schuschnigg		
Berdyæv and Christian History	- - - - -	82
Thomas O. Hanley		
Reviews of Books	- - - - -	96
Current Bibliography	- - - - -	122

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The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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INDEX OF BOOK REVIEWS

	Page
Medieval Institutions, Selected Essays	96
English Historical Documents, v. I	97
Saint Dunstan of Canterbury	97
History of Bukhara	98
Four Stages of Renaissance Style	99
Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World	99
Ancient Education	100
Medieval Essays	101
Catholic Church in World Affairs	102
Today's Isms	103
Modern Germany	103
Anthropology	105
Letters of St. Margaret Mary	105
Christianity and Civilization	106
Politics and Science	106
Czartoryski and European Unity	107
Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution	108
French Theory of the Nation in Arms	109
Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of New York	110
Little Engines and Big Men	111
Making Democracy a Reality	112
Rebels and Democrats . . . American Revolution	113
Our Yankee Heritage	114
Brownson Reader	116
Coming of the Revolution	117
Pictorial History of the Wild West	118
Anselm Weber, O.F.M. Missionary to the Navahos	118
History of Nebraska	119
Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs	120

"THE HOUSE OF YORKE, A FORGOTTEN SOURCE ON JOHN BAPST, S.J."

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We usually reach for the *Dictionary of American Biography* when we want to consult a scholarly biographical sketch of an important American and seldom are we disappointed with what we read. It has served the classroom, both teachers and students, well since its publication a few decades ago. But two sketches recently consulted were below the expected high scholarly standards. The printed sources on both individuals are few and most of these scant, yet important sources were omitted from the bibliographical notes attached to the sketches. Presumably they were not consulted. Failure to do so is reflected in the texts of the sketches. The two are Father John Bapst, S.J., and Mary Agnes Tincker.¹

The two were friends and both played important roles in one of America's most disgraceful displays of uncontrolled bigotry. The long road that Father Bapst travelled to cross the path of Miss Tincker is a marvelous example of Divine Providence.

Bapst was born in the quiet village of La Roche in the Swiss canton of Fribourg; Miss Tincker's birthplace was the rough, bustling river town of Ellsworth, Maine. Bapst accepted his vocation to the Society of Jesus and completed his course of studies with few, if any, thoughts of the United States and with little inclination towards the life of a missionary. One of those revolutions that disturbed many European countries in 1848 uprooted him, and at the age of thirty-three, one year after his ordination to the priesthood, he found himself a refugee in New York.² Mary Tincker was fifteen at the time, and her talent for writing had already won for her some local prestige.

The European revolutions of 1848 were a blessing to American

¹ Harry Shaw, Jr., "Tinckner, Mary Agnes," *D.A.B.*, XVIII (1936), 560; Louise Phelps Kellogg, "Bapst, John," *D.A.B.*, I (1928), 583-584.

² Bapst was one of a group of 44 Swiss Jesuits who sailed from Antwerp on the *Providence*. The expected four-week voyage took 45 days and before landing the supply of food and water was exhausted. Bapst was not the only one of this group who achieved prominence. Anthony M. Anderledy became General of the Jesuits, John B. Miede became Bishop of Messina and Vicar Apostolic of the Indian Territory, Burchard Villiger became Provincial of the Maryland Province of American Jesuits. This group is only one of the many that came to the United States at this time, and their contribution to the growth of American Catholicism remains to be investigated.

Catholics, sadly in need of priests. Bapst arrived in New York at the time John Fitzpatrick, the third Bishop of Boston, finally persuaded the Provincial of the American Jesuits to establish a mission in Maine to care for the scattered Catholics and the two tribes of Abnaki Indians at Old Town and Eastport. Bapst was offered the post at Old Town. He accepted it, but "not without some disappointment," as he later admitted. James Moore, a generous but restless soul who found it difficult to remain more than one year at any one post, was also assigned to the new mission. He was the first of many who ably assisted Bapst on the Maine mission, but Bapst was the only Jesuit who remained there for the entire eleven years of the mission's existence.

For three years his residence was at the Indian reservation at Old Town, on the Penobscot River, a few miles above Bangor. But care of the Indians was not his only concern:

The Indians of Old Town are but the smallest part of our mission; our glory and consolation are the stations among the Irish and Canadians, scattered over the whole extent of Maine, with whose care we are charged.³

Actually they did not cover all of Maine, for there were a few diocesan priests in the large communities like Portland, Augusta, and Bangor. But there were thirty-three widely separated stations depending on them. Bapst's work among the Indians can not be called a success. Two bitter factions among the Penobscots frustrated his efforts, and as a rebuke to the contentious Indians and with the hope that the deprivation of a resident priest would correct their harmful ways, he was given a new assignment. This brought him to Eastport.

By now Bapst was on fire with the zeal of a missionary. He constructed churches or chapels wherever there were sufficient Catholics to cover the expenses. He plead for more Jesuits with little success generally. But late in 1852, with the prospects of three helpers at hand, he received permission to establish another center. He even started to talk about opening a college, but was told to confine his dreams. Ellsworth was selected as the new residence; and early in 1853 Bapst settled there. The construction of a new church, to replace the chapel (a small building purchased in 1843), was already under way.

³ "Fr. John Bapts A Sketch," *Woodstock Letters*, XVII (1888) 229, letter to Joseph Duverney, S.J., June 10, 1850. This is the first of a series of articles on Bapst. It is the best source of information on Bapst in print.

The selection of Ellsworth as his permanent residence proved to be one of those decisions that mark the lives of some men. It was the prelude to a series of events that did not end until Bapst was tarred and feathered by residents of Ellsworth on Saturday night, October 14, 1854. This experience on one rainy Saturday night made him a marked man—an example of what uncontrolled bigotry can do. His work and his name probably would have escaped the historians had he escaped the attack of a mob. Yet six years of heroic work preceded and five years of heroic work followed the Ellsworth affair, and for twenty-five more years, after the Maine mission closed, he continued his important contributions to American life as educator, pastor, and preacher. His fame and his contribution to the religious history of New England does not derive from being tarred and feathered by a mob of bigots but from the daily sacrifices of eleven years of service to the Catholics and Protestants of Maine.

The decision to reside in Ellsworth, however, was a happy one for Mary Agnes Tincker, the talented daughter of Richard and Mehitable Tincker of that town. She received her education in the local schools and a nearby academy, and at the early age of thirteen became a teacher in the local schools. She soon found time to indulge and improve her talent for writing and in her late teens had acquired at least a local reputation as a writer. No doubt she knew of Bapst before Ellsworth became his residence, for he had visited the town in his circuit of the stations. Shortly after his arrival in 1853 he commenced a series of Sunday afternoon lectures on Catholic doctrines. Protestants as well as Catholics were invited to attend, and many Protestants accepted the invitation. The expected happened; some of the Protestants became Catholics, among them some of the young ladies of the town. Among the young ladies was Mary Tincker. She was twenty years old, and since she qualified to be a public school teacher when she was in teens we can assume she was sufficiently qualified to make an important decision on her religion when she was twenty. In some quarters, however, notably among the circles of parsons and ministers, these conversions aroused resentment, and Bapst was the object of the resentment.

Tincker became involved in the "Bapst affair." Indeed, few escaped involvement to some degree. The attraction of the youth of Ellsworth for the Catholic faith became an issue. It was really the unusual set of circumstances that made it an issue in Ells-

worth, for Bapst had been instrumental in the conversion of other Protestants prior to this and his relations with Protestants had been favorable and friendly. In the spring of 1850 he had written:

For my own part, I can honestly assert that since my arrival in these regions, I have been treated with the greatest respect by the Protestants, although every one knows that I am a Catholic priest and even a Jesuit.⁴

Then the ever explosive school problem was projected into the growing differences between the Catholics and Protestants. It can, I think, be safely said that unless Bapst had selected Ellsworth as his permanent residence this school issue would not have become explosive. The Catholics of Ellsworth were inarticulate, and it is doubtful that they would have taken action without his leadership. They resented the regulation that compelled their children to read the Protestant version of the Bible in the public schools. Catholics elsewhere resented similar regulations, but had to be contented with ineffective protests. But Bapst had built a new church in the town, leaving the old chapel unoccupied. He converted the old chapel into a school, hired a school teacher, and offered the Catholic parents a place where their children could be educated as they desired. However, it is unlikely that these two issues, the conversions and the school, would have resulted in an attack on the person of Bapst had not the local Know-Nothing forces, abetted by the campaign of abuse by the editor of the Ellsworth *Herald*, gained control of affairs over the same portion of the community and dictated the course of events.

Mary Tincker was a witness of the mad events that culminated in the attack on the person of Bapst. They remained vivid in her memory long after she departed from Ellsworth. After service as a nurse in the Civil War she settled in Boston, with a long sojourn in Italy, where she won renown as a writer. There is an unfortunate lack of information on her, as the biographical note to the sketch in the *D.A.B.* observes. The biographical note, however, does not list a brief but understanding study of Tincker and her writings by John Talbot Smith that appeared in the *Ave Maria* two years after her death and eleven years after the last of her ten books.⁵ Father Smith, author of many books him-

⁴ "Fr. John Bapst A Sketch, " *Woodstock Letters*, XVII (1888), 366, letter to Charles Billet, S.J., April 27, 1850.

⁵ "Mary Agnes Tincker," *Ave Maria*, LXLX (July 31, 1909), 142-148. For Smith, see *The American Catholic Who's Who* (1911), pp. 611-612.

self, was a personal acquaintance of this "tall, stately, handsome woman, of perfect manners, reticent but gifted with biting speech, full of quiet humor, and most intense in her sympathies." The years 1871-1889 were her productive period; all but one of her books, *Autumn Leaves* (1898), were published during those years. She is considered the best American Catholic novelist of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the established publishers were glad to get her manuscripts.

Miss Tincker's first published book is our concern in this article, and so this is not the place to discuss the merits of her prose and her place in American literature. She wrote for her generation and the Victorian manners of some of her characters have little appeal to the mid-twentieth century American. But she was extremely popular in her day. *Signor Monaldini's Niece* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1879), her fourth book and one of the "No Name Series," established her reputation. The reviewer in *The Nation* told his readers:

We believe, from internal evidence, that this book is written by an American woman; it is very clever, but its atmosphere is rather what we expect in the work of certain clever Frenchmen.

Another reviewer noted that it "abounds in admirable touches." And of *By the Tiber*, published two years later, we are told that "From the first to the last page the book is full of imaginative fire."⁶ At least, literary critics of her day paid her compliments.

The House of Yorke, her first book, was written during the late 1860's and was serialized in the *Catholic World* before publication in 1872.⁷ Shaw in the *D.A.B.* sketch tells the reader that the setting of the novel was her home town of Ellsworth during the Know-Nothing excitement. More important is the fact that the book is partly autobiographical, for she is relating her own personal experiences, and the purpose of the historical romance is to tell the true story of the Ellsworth affair in which her friend Father Bapst had been involved. The volume is a primary source

⁶ For these and other excerpts from contemporary reviews of Tincker's writings, see *A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (Philadelphia, 1891), II, 1439-1440.

⁷ Fifteen monthly installments were required to complete the book; it ran from April, 1871, to June, 1872. It had been published by the time the last installment appeared. See the review in XV (June, 1872), 420-421. It was described by the reviewer as "a distinctively American novel which one can honestly praise as a work of art."

on him and the attack on him, and neither the sketch of Bapst nor that of Tincker in the *D.A.B.* make any note of this.

Miss Tincker had settled on Boston to launch her literary career. John Bapst was also residing in Boston during the 1860's. The mission in Maine had been closed in the summer of 1859 and, after a year at Holy Cross, Bapst was appointed the first rector of Boston College on July 21, 1860. The plan to open the college had been deferred to meet the urgent need for a common seminary for the Jesuit scholastics of the United States. So for three years Bapst was rector and professor of moral theology at the seminary. Then, in the fall of 1863, the seminary was closed and the college opened for the Catholic youth of Boston and its suburbs. Bapst continued on as its first President and remained there until August, 1869.⁸

The House of Yorke is a historical novel. Historians would have preferred a memoir of her personal experiences, but they have learned to be satisfied with the sources bequeathed them by witnesses. In her preface she tells us that she was "the only one both able and willing to tell the true facts in the case." Did she try to persuade Bapst to publish an account of the Ellsworth affair? There is a hint in these words that she did. And it is also clear from these words that twenty-five years after the events, the public had not been told the truth about the Ellsworth affair. So she would tell the public; and it would be told in a historical romance, because she did "not know how to tell them in any other way." No one can enter a complaint against a witness for using the best medium at her disposal.

She was aware that historical facts frequently suffer from association with fiction and she was anxious to prevent this. Accordingly, she "resisted every temptation to embellish the true story which here entwined with the fictitious one. . . . Nothing, then, is given but the leading scenes in the persecution of a well-known Jesuit Father and his people, in the State of Maine, during the Know-Nothing epidemic which, for them, culminated in

⁸ Miss Tincker knew that Bapst was in Boston and probably discussed the novel with him. In the book the lives of the Yorkes are continued after they departed from Ellsworth and settled in Boston, and the reader is told (p. 257): "Father Rasle [Bapst], it should be said, was at this time pastor of a city church." As President of Boston College he was also rector of the Immaculate Conception, the collegiate church attached to the college. For Bapst as President, see David R. Dunigan, S.J., *A History of Boston College* (Milwaukee, 1947).

1854." Any one acquainted with the Ellsworth affair must admit that Miss Tincker is a good witness. *The House of Yorke* has been forgotten as fiction, but remains an important source on the life of Bapst and its author.

The major historical characters and events are easily identified. Bapst has been given the name of Rasle, borrowed from the Jesuit missionary killed by Massachusetts militia in 1724, but retains his broken English; he spoke "in his odd, broken English, his smile taken the harsh edge off the words."⁹ This was a handicap in his work with the Yankees that bothered Bapst no little. Charles Yorke is Colonel Jarvis, the valiant Protestant who invited harm to his own person and his family by befriending Bapst and protesting the mad course of events. Kent, who was Bapst's host during the fateful visit, has retained his name. The part played by the Ellsworth (Seaton in the story) *Herald* in provoking the townsmen to mob action and the contributions of the local ministers are described with accuracy. Only the chronology of some events and the identity of Miss Tincker offer any problems. Miss Churchill, the teacher hired by Bapst when the chapel was converted into a school, is probably the author of *The House of Yorke*.¹⁰

A desire to prevent any distorting of the record prompted her, as we have noted, to recall the events of her younger days. She had noticed that when the people of Ellsworth "found themselves covered with disgrace before the country," efforts had been made to shift the blame for the outrage. Some tried "to throw the odium on 'a few rowdies,'" while others claimed the Catholics were the cause of their own troubles. Not so, says Mary Agnes Tincker: "Both these statements are false." And she proceeds to implicate "some of the most prominent citizens" of the town. Her decision to set the record straight through the medium of a historical novel proved to be a happy choice in the end, for the book¹¹ was a good, if not a best, seller and soon went into its fourth edition. If presented as an historical essay, only a Parkman would have commanded such popularity.

⁹ p. 76.

¹⁰ Shaw in his sketch says that Miss Tincker taught in a Catholic parochial school. Clara Yorke appears to me to be more like Tincker. She was seventeen when introduced in the story, a writer of promise, and eventually becomes a Catholic.

¹¹ See p. 129 for quotations from the novel. *Allibone's*, *op. cit.*, refers to the fourth edition.

Any study of Bapst would profit by consulting this book. It is a primary source on the Ellsworth affair and gives an appreciation of Bapst not found elsewhere. Yet the author of Bapst's sketch in the *D.A.B.* does not list it in the biographical note. Nor do we find any reference to the best source in print on Bapst and his work, the series of articles in the *Woodstock Letters*, and to a study based on these articles that appear in the *Historical Records and Studies*.¹² No satisfactory sketch can be prepared without consulting them.

One does not have to belabor the point that the authors of these two sketches have neglected to use important material in Catholic magazines on their subjects. One can only wonder why these sources were neglected and add that the sketches are faulty because of the failure to do so.

¹² Gerald C. Treacy, S.J., "Father John Bapst, S.J., and the Ellsworth Outrage," *Historical Records and Studies* XIV (May, 1920), 7-19.

ORIGIN, WEIGHT AND SIDELIGHTS OF THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN ADVENTURE*

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If the renowned author wanted to paraphrase the sparkling aphorism of "history as the record of man's steps and slips" (B. H. Liddell Hart), he has surely "brought home the bacon." Although foremost, "Mussolini is not the only villain" (8) in Salvemini's newest book. Sir Austen and Neville Chamberlain, Stanley Baldwin, Lloyd George, Hoare, Laval, Eden, Van Zeeland, and at a respectful distance Churchill, Léon Blum, Stalin, and even Cordell Hull and F. D. Roosevelt do not fare much better in their final grades.

The *Prelude of World War II* does not reveal many hitherto unknown facts, nor does their interpretation at first look seem to be very original. And yet the advanced student of modern international relations and recent European history will find Professor Salvemini's thought-provoking and stimulating work of distinct value and interest, which makes for profitable and on the whole enjoyable reading. It is brilliantly written, pleasingly legible, with part of its conclusions well substantiated and based on adequate documentation.

Gaetano Salvemini, the noted Italian historian, left his native country for political reasons in 1925; from 1932 he served as a professor at Harvard, and returned in recent times, now an octogenarian, to his original position at the University of Florence. With Guilielmo Ferrero he belonged to the representative group of Italian anti-fascist scholars in exile; in common with his contemporary of international renown, the late Benedetto Croce, Salvemini holds an Italian-liberal and militant anti-clerical philosophy.

Prelude to World War II concentrates on Italian foreign policy in the critical period between the wars. About two-thirds of the stately volume deals with the Italo-Ethiopian war. The sad story of the sanctions, and especially the long dragged out discussions of an oil embargo, with the resulting complete loss of face by the League of Nations, belongs easily to the most convincing and best done chapters of the whole treatise.

Once more the reader is reminded of the tragic lack of political coordination and—despite all disguises—the basically different

*A critical survey of Gaetano Salvemini's *Prelude to World War II*, Doubleday & Co., pp. 519. \$7.50.

political concepts of London and Paris. Hence the ineffectiveness of the alliance-systems in Europe; thus Germany was given the enticing chance to turn up her trump in view of the ostensible inclination of London to play the Berlin card against Paris. Herewith Italy found herself within the framework of the diplomatic game in a profitable bargaining position. The intricacies of the over-all situation were reflected by deplorable, mutual insincerity of the permanent Council-members; they included from the autumn of 1934 Soviet Russia; these relations paralyzed the whole mechanism of the League at Geneva.

Among other things the hopeless situation of the smaller nations—if one prefers dramatic language their gross betrayal—becomes crystal clear to any objective observer. They were deliberately kept in the dark, fed occasionally with well-sounding speeches and pathetic assurances, got their encouraging pats on the back by friendly editorials and favorable comments; sometimes they were skillfully played against each other; after all, not a single one was really independent, at least in economic matters. What counted alone was the untold fact that, except those located in geographic proximity to the Channel, they were considered by London as expendable liabilities, and this for well-intentioned but ill-starred and not entirely unselfish pacifist considerations. Paris was dependent either on London or Moscow; and here the circle closes.

The final conclusions, drawn in the chapter "The breakdown of Collective Security" (486ff) have been for a long time uncontested:

"The first step towards World War II was taken in the autumn of 1931, when President Hoover and the British "National Government" permitted the dissolution of the system of collective security in the far East. With the Italo-Ethiopian war, the system collapsed in Africa. With the German reoccupation of the Rheinland, itself precipitated by the Italo-Ethiopian war, the system collapsed in Europe. Then came the so-called non-intervention in the Spanish civil war. Then the rape of Austria. Then the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. And finally Armageddon. . . .

The French considered it unreasonable to let an affair in Africa stand in the way of Franco-Italian understanding, and urged moderation on the English dealing with Italy. The English considered the French to be unreasonable in standing in the way of Anglo-German understanding and urged the French to be moderate in dealing with Germany. . . . It was said that Mussolini

... destroyed the fabric of international good faith. This is not true. Mussolini acted as a gangster. The fabric of good faith is not destroyed by gangsters. It is destroyed when the policeman and judges are in connivance with the gangsters. . . .(468)"

Salvemini obviously dislikes the idea, born by 1932 mainly out of Mussolini's initiative, to base peace on a solid Four-Power Pact (Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany). This position is based mainly on the ground that Russia was left out in the cold. However it might seem questionable, in the light of more recent experiences with Russian cooperation and interpretation of treaties, whether a concert of European powers without Soviet Russia, if possible, would not have been a more promising answer than a premature Security Council, shaped after the later UN pattern. Anyway, the attempt of the Four-Power Pact failed, mainly on account of French misgivings. Herewith in the opinion of this writer was signed the death warrant for the then existing European order. Before long (January, 1933) Hitler was to take over in Germany; in the long run all chances for peace were lost.

Salvemini deserves high praise for his consistent and most articulate dislike and defiance of nationalistic exaggerated claims, including the Italian ones. Furthermore his startling, but fully correct statement that it was "among uncompromising pacifists and Marxists of strict observance in France and England that Mussolini [and later on Hitler—note of this writer] found his best helpers" (268), carries some weight. He brings his point home by quoting Sir Stafford Cripps whom he describes as an orthodox Marxist:

We must—I am convinced—have no united front with Capitalism and Imperialism. There is only one condition upon which I personally could support armaments and military action, and that is if these were being used by a group of socialist states to support an international socialist order against capitalist aggression. I find no conviction in the shallow and opportunist argument that we must stop Mussolini at all costs (267).

These words were spoken on October 1, 1935, at the eve of the Ethiopian war.

Small wonder that those and similar British utterances made comforting music in the ears of men like Mussolini and Hitler. Salvemini in his strong and colorful language holds "peace-criminals" no less responsible than war-criminals for the out-

break of war. "The Marxist doctrine—he says—is a wondrous drug; it first awakens dormant minds, then makes them stupid" (268).

It occurs to this writer that Mussolini, whose flexible versatility is strongly emphasized by his liberal antipode, with all his caustic arguments and acrid criticism, could not have done better in dealing with his bitter opponents. Mussolini himself had started as a violent, radical Marxist; by 1914 when the overture to all the forthcoming preludes started, he had only slightly to change the direction and targets of his passionate tirades, still violently antidemocratic, republican, anti-clerical; finally he came out with his alarming rediscovery that it is "blood that turns the wheels of history". It was the first step of his complete about face which in his case and that of the Polish Pilsudsky was never forgiven by former friends and comrades. Salvemini was never among the latter; on the contrary, his accentuated enmity, in marked difference to Benedetto Croce, Lloyd George, Bernard Shaw, and others, went back to the days of the first World War.

The very core of Salvemini's new book is an unqualified condemnation of the Ethiopian adventure; this judgment is commonly endorsed and rightly so. His further deduction that World War II was an inevitable result, and herewith the Ethiopian affair was more than a merely contributing factor, is hardly based on equally safe ground.

It is highly regrettable that the solid fabric of an otherwise scholarly work becomes sometimes visibly corroded by innuendos, unsubstantiated generalizations and—it must be said—by a carelessness which exceeds mere printing errors. It is true that the author himself does not claim that his judgments are "objective" truths; historians and critics sincerely convinced that they must be unbiased and impartial appear to him as "fools endowed with a God Almighty complex" (Preface, 9). Thus he manifestly sometimes stops in his scientific research and allows himself to be swerved by emotions; the results are outright and easily unmasked misconceptions.

There is, e.g., no sound reason to label the Hungarian revisionists, the Austrian independence fighters, the anti-Serb Croatia autonomists or the anti-Benés Slovak federalists summarily as fascists. Some of them were indeed during the period between the wars political allies of fascist Italy. So incidentally were the western great powers, with the exception of Nazi Germany. Not

every ally of the fascist camp, and as far as the Slovaks are concerned of Hitler, necessarily embraced fascist or nazi ideology; just as not every ally of Soviet Russia became therewith a Communist supporter.

Salvemini goes even so far as to present as a fact alleged "Austrian clerico-fascist" efforts to bring about a union between Austria, Hungary and Croatia by encouragement of the "Croat Fascists" (147). This is pure and outright fiction. To make his convenient theory plausible, a Croat delegation is referred to which, received by the Chancellor and the Archbishop of Vienna on March 11, 1934, "pledged Croat loyalty to Austria" and was exhorted by the Austrian political and ecclesiastical authorities to remain always "good Catholics, good Croats, and good Austrians" (147). There was hardly any wrong in such an exhortation; the leader of this Croat delegation of 1934 serves now as elected Governor of the Austrian province Burgenland, former Hungarian territory which was assigned after World War I to Austria. This province happened for centuries to be populated by a Croat national minority; all of them before World War I Hungarian, and afterwards most loyal Austrian citizens. They enjoyed full minority rights and minority protection, one of the very few European national minorities which had no complaints, a group of about 40,000 souls. These Austrian Croats expressed their satisfaction and gratitude. This action might—amazingly enough—displease for political reasons other people who were not Austrian citizens, but in truth it was their democratic right.

Even more transparent become the cliché in the context of a sweeping condemnation of all leading Catholic priests who took part in European political activities between 1918 and 1938—all except the Italian Don Sturzo—acted as accessories to Fascist activities . . . Seipel in Austria, Tiso in Slovakia, Goos¹ [sic] in Germany, Korosec in Slovenia . . ." (116).

Lack of space forbids an analysis of this general indictment, directed against men who, all of them, are no more alive.

On the other hand Msgr. Sramek, the former Czecho-slovak Prime Minister under Masaryk and Benés, and chairman of the Czech People's Party who went into exile in 1938, is obviously unknown to the author. So are the Hungarian and Polish ranking

¹ Goos means obviously Kaas, who, a political exile since 1933, died in Rome as Canon of St. Peter.

Catholic priests in politics who served as leaders either of their national minorities or minority parties in open opposition to their allegedly "fascist" government. At least the name of the anti-fascist leader of the German-speaking population in the Alto-Adige (Suedtirol), Fr. Gamper, should sound familiar, even to one who obviously never heard of the Cardinals Galen and Faulhaber, and finds it fit by repeated innuendos to accuse the pope of the encyclical "Mit brennender Sorge" and of the definition of the subsidiarity principle (Quadragesimo anno"), but also his then Secretary of State Card. Pacelli, of fascist complicity (146, 229).

Most surprising for any informed reader, however, is the explanation of the Jesuit Father E. A. Walsh's presence at the Nuremberg trials. He was there to destroy "irrelevant" (i.e. compromising) documents. Because "Even the Vatican was able to send one of its experts . . . to see if there were any irrelevant documents of interest to the Vatican" (267).²

These and other examples with—to put it mildly—an air of carelessness cannot but detract from the otherwise high standards of an informative and superbly written piece of scholarly research. Time and again preestablished opinions make the author susceptible to the temptation to use unchecked data and resort to witticism and insinuation. How should, e.g., any Italian statesman, after the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and before Hitler took over in Germany (1933), have encouraged the Austrian Social-Democrats to draw closer to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (the little Entente), when their foreign political concept was then avowedly and strongly based on the idea of political union with Germany?

The statement that the Austrian Social-Democrats polled "from 45 to 49% of the vote in Austria as a whole" (116) is substantiated by a reference note (Ch. Gulick: *Austria from Hapsburg to Hitler, I*), but is, nevertheless, in open contradiction to easily available and uncontested statistical data. Karl Renner, the late Socialist leader and Federal President, quotes in his Memoirs once more the verified figures:

² E. A. Walsh, S.J., noted American educator and geopolitician, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.; see his publication *Total Power*, Doubleday & Co., New York, 1948, presenting the case of General Karl Haushofer and the school of German geopolitics.

The Social-Democrats polled:

At the national elections of 1919	40.76%
At the national elections of 1920	35.99%
At the national elections of 1923	39.60%
At the national elections of 1927	42.30%
At the national elections of 1930	41.13%

of the popular vote. The corresponding figures for the municipality of Vienna were 60% (Renner), compared with 70% (Salvemini).³

Even after 1945 there was only one Austrian political party (People's Party) which succeeded in polling more than 45% of the popular vote in national elections, and this only for the term 1945 to 1949.

Out of quite a number of unusual printing errors the most conspicuous one refers to the city of Memel, as "allotted to Estonia [sic] by the treaty of Versailles" (480).

Summarizing, it is a pity that the distinguished author allowed himself to get off the track, and as a consequence lost, on irrelevant and unfamiliar sidelines. But since this is done obviously enough, he still deserves credit for an interesting and competent guidance, as his publisher put it, through the labyrinth of European diplomacy.

Prelude to World War II will serve its purpose in graduate courses, where the student may find it useful as introductory reading along with Professor F. A. Hermens' *Europe Between Democracy and Anarchy* (Notre Dame Press, 1951). In Chapter 3: Negative Democracy and Dictatorship in Italy, this author explains in a conclusive manner the why and how of the phenomenon Mussolini. Hermens refers in this chapter repeatedly to Salvemini's former historic publications such as *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*.

The Italian side alone in the overall picture does not give sufficient explanation for the Prelude and its fateful consequences. As indispensable implements for a thoroughgoing and fair evaluation this writer recommends strongly J. W. Wheeler-Bennett's *Nemesis of Power* (Macmillan, N. Y., 1953) and John A. Lükacs' *The Great Powers and Eastern Europe* (American Book Co., N. Y., 1953); they make, together with Professor Salvemini's critical analysis of Mussolini's and the League of Nations' policy, for profitable reading.

³ Karl Renner: *Oesterreich von der ersten zur zweiten Republik*, p. 94.

BERDYAEV AND CHRISTIAN HISTORY

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Nicholas Berdyaev has arrested the attention of Christians in Europe and America by his judgments on Communism. In the nineteen-thirties several American Catholic writers found important meaning in this Russian writing in exile. Studies recently undertaken by Protestant, Orthodox and Catholic scholars testify to the force of Berdyaev until the time of his death in recent years.¹ The urgent interest in Communism and the perennial consideration of Christianity lead us to inquire into the basis of this appeal.

To analyze Berdyaev's writings and arrive at conclusive judgments as to the man's constant beliefs is not possible. A quaint Eastern saying, difficult to translate, has been used to describe Berdyaev the thinker. He is said to be as the horse which pulls singly along his course and will not be harnessed to a team. In its extreme this has meant that the vigorous thinker has bolted off from directions which he had taken in a previous period of his life. To this problem of continuity is added that of ambiguity which likewise derives from the character of the man himself; for the terminology of Berdyaev and the nuances of his concepts on a topic defy consistency and familiar development. Consequently, in a limited study of Berdyaev's thought, one must speak in terms of a particular work and relate its thought to a specific period of the man's life rather than to the man himself.

The Meaning of History,² a book published by Berdyaev, has many advantages in the face of these difficulties. We must, of course, attribute its ideas to the period around 1920 in which it was first published; but the fact that the author approved its translation into English in 1936 indicates that he must have then been willing to accept much of what he had said earlier. The subject matter of this study treads a middle ground between the most highly speculative and the most imperatively practical problems which occupied Berdyaev and which as extremes in

¹ *Nicholas Berdyaev: Captive of Freedom* (Philadelphia, 1949, Westminster Press), is a comprehensive study by Matthew Spinka. There is a recent monograph on Berdyaev's view of history, unpubl. diss. (St. Louis Univ., 1954) by Sister M. Juanita Pavlick, O.S.B., "Nicholas Berdyaev's Theory of History," which has been helpful in the present article. Donald Attwater, Fielding Clarke, and others have contributed to the literature on Berdyaev which continues to grow.

² *The Meaning of History* (New York, 1936, Charles Scribner's Sons), hereafter cited as: *Meaning*.

his thought defied continuity and continually posed ambiguity. But, in the final analysis, we must still confine generalizations to the work itself and the period in which it was written while seeing, perhaps, implications out of which subsequent changes in thought inevitably developed.

Another value of *The Meaning of History* is the broad opportunity which the topic provided Berdyaev of revealing the insights which are so provocative to Christians. He was primarily a philosopher and continues this role in *The Meaning of History*, but the matrix of his philosophizing is the vast ebb and flow of human history. Berdyaev's root convictions are Christian and as a Christian his human history is transfigured by the divine economy of man in the valuation of the Incarnation. It is here that we find the harmonious notes that have won him a hearing in Europe and America. It is here too that the question arises, what specifically are his affinities to the tradition which has elaborated the meaning of history throughout the Christian Era?

Logically Berdyaev's judgments on Communism rested, to a great extent, on historical interpretation and this in turn supposed the value judgments which he derived from his understanding of this tradition. If we trace some of the more important lines of thought which grew up within this tradition we shall be better prepared to see precisely in what way Berdyaev was related to it.

Biblical interest in the second century of the Christian era early led to an awareness of a sense of history. Many passages of the Old Testament induce certain beliefs in reference to history; such mysteries as Divine Providence, Messianic events of historically central importance, are the most evident ones. The fourteenth chapter of Judges, for example, brings out an important fact of history, done realistically in the commonplace of Samson's life.

"What," said his parents, "canst thou find no bride amongst the women of thy own tribe, nay, of all Israel, that thou must wed the daughter of some uncircumcised Philistine?" "She (Delilah) must be thy choice for me," Samson told his father; "I like her well."

Then with a touch of the Hebraic awareness of an all powerful and wise Providence, the divinely inspired writer says, "How could they know that this was the Lord's will; that this was to be the occasion of a quarrel between Samson and the Philistines, who then held Israel under their dominion?" This is the antinomy

of divine and human wills of which Berdyaev speaks and which is the rhythmic breath of the history. Messianism, proceeding at times into prophecy, is, of course, the underlying movement of the Old Testament. These two overawed him and entered into the fiber of his understanding of history.

Like the early Christians, Berdyaev regarded the Incarnation and the redemptive act of Calvary with a profound and reverent love. It is the vigorous, liberating factor in the historical process. Augustine's day, however, moved forward to the problem implied in these beliefs when they challenge an understanding of secular history and the story of nations which are not the chosen people. This task consumed thirteen years of Augustine's sustained effort and delivered the first Christian history. Sprawling, and yet concise in brilliant passages, this starting point enunciates the law of complexity and mystery involved in any interpretation of all history from the Christian viewpoint. In the light of the *City of God* and in its shadows Berdyaev's own limitations can be sympathetically viewed. The relation of fallen man, his social actions and his culture to the Kingdom of God is an overmastering mystery for any man.

The two cities of Augustine were not confident allies. In an age which knew only a culture inspired by pagan mythology, the suspicion of Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine is understandable. The only *modus-vivendi* was a city of man functioning as a pliant and obsequious instrument; and Augustine did show in its political history how God rendered it so. Unknown to the pagan philosopher or statesman, its course of events was orientated to a magnificent empire, not as an end but only as a means.

Augustine saw that the measure of history was the Church, striking in the triumph of the Last Day but somehow in a hidden way in its Providential history before that time. Was not the Church the Mystical Body of Christ, a vital leaven in the living mass of the historical process, working a transformation within the civilizations of the world? The dying civilization of the Empire could hardly inspire such a hope.

When a primitive culture confronted Christianity, long after the demise of the invalid and ephemeral features of the Graeco-Roman world, the nightmare of Augustine, an opportunity to deeply form and penetrate the non-religious institutions of fallen man presented itself for the first time. Initiated by the Carolingian Renaissance this transformation reached fulfillment in the Thirteenth Century. This most Christian of human cultures

is not explained without an understanding of the concurrent development in metaphysical thought which resolved itself in the Thomistic synthesis. In the *Summa Theologica* the natural man which pagan culture exalted was precisely defined in relation to the context of the primordial scar of Eden and the transfiguring wounds of the New Man on Calvary. The Christian can now judge with sureness and not suspicion the progress of the city of God as well as the city of man.

The Renaissance and Reformation marked a period of mid-passage in the progress of Christian history and in the creation of Berdyaev's thought the divergent streams had singular importance. Though progress in the direction which the Thomistic synthesis had orientated the understanding of history was not remarkable from a creative standpoint, some landmarks did appear. Later, Bossuet notably enlarged the implications of Christianity for history beyond *The City of God*. The City of God as the visible Church founded by Christ was again set forth as a tangible point of reference for the movements of history. This Augustinian concept has perhaps more significance for a satisfactory historiography than that of the Kingdom of God within or the ethical idealism of the New Testament.

This tradition of Christian history together with the challenge of the secularized state glorified by nationalism, stirred nineteenth century Catholic scholarship, particularly in France. Studies of Medieval Times as the high-tide of the Church's energizing force in human culture, yielded a detailed, empirical description verifying this facet of the Christian theology of history. Frederick Oxanam was dedicated to this task. Chateaubriand's *The Genius of Christianity* was perhaps the most arresting presentation of this insight.

Today, this scholarship is still vital. The long and careful studies of Christopher Dawson have deepened our understanding of the anatomy of culture. He has shown how, apart from a divinely revealed religion of the Church, the great civilizations of the past were inspired by their religious concepts. Since the Vatican Council the epic development of the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ has carried along in its progress a deeper understanding of the relationship of the visible Church to culture. The important papal encyclicals on Modernism and Pius XII's *Mystici Corporis* and *Humani Generis* have added sureness to this quest; for the Church has been more accurately

defined, and the area of adaptation to changing institutions, cultures and civilizations more specifically described.

Some of the richness of this tradition which has matured in recent times is seen in the writing of Jean Danielou. "History," he says, "manifests itself, therefore, as a preparation leading up to Jesus Christ and as an irradiation coming from Him." This irradiation proceeds through sanctified individuals to leave an imprint of Christ's spirit on the institutions and cultures of the world's civilizations. A special Providence prepares the nations for the full coming of Christ in His Church. "For sacred history constitutes the reality, the totality of history, within which profane history is situated, as being but one part, and plays a determined role."³

Current conflict with the thought we are describing here is very evident in the literature of the philosophy of history. It can be understood in the period which gave rise to divergence, the Renaissance and Reformation, a time of mid-passage for the idea of Christian history. Down one of these diverted streams Berdyaev has made his way.

Orthodox Christianity, of which Russia has been a part, at this time solidified its schism from Rome. With the fall of Constantinople, delegates at Church Councils cease and its children look now neither to the second Rome nor the first but to a third, to be further multiplied, at least in spirit, with the nationalism of Modern Times. The visible form of Orthodoxy disintegrates from its cherished suppleness which exclusive adherence to the first Councils gave it, to the distressing weakness the national state has shown in her. It is difficult to see how the Church on earth of Augustine's *City of God* is essentially present in Berdyaev's historiography, nor that it could have been, granting his Orthodox affiliation.

On the other hand, the Augustinianism of the Eastern Church as well as the sects of the Reformation persisted without the modification which the Thomistic synthesis gave to it. Human culture was inevitably viewed as the product of the man who was himself not integral as St. Thomas understood him to be. The suspicion of cities allied by the compulsion of terrestrial existence, then, continues through Modern Times with the theology of the Reformation. Russia was not left unshaken by this cataclysmic division in the soul of the West's culture. Her own

³ "Dialogue With Time," *Cross Currents*, #2 (Winter, 1951), 86, 82.

anti-intellectual heritage conditioned her for its stunning impact. Against this background the cleavage from culture which Karl Barth puts into Christianity and its historical destiny is understandable. Berdyaev's own language of religion and culture, so inexact and confusing, likewise demands this historical reference for its understanding.

It was only a question of time before this anti-intellectual stream of the Reformation crossed with the Renaissance at a date later than the customary times assigned to these movements by historians. This took place in the era of the Enlightenment. Understandably, Berdyaev makes one historical movement of all three of these historic forces, because they are all part of the man-centeredness of the West since the end of the Middle Ages. The cult of humanism only later came to a preoccupation with history, toward the end of the eighteenth century. It was then, as Christopher Dawson explains, that the Christian idea of historical progress was secularized from a process toward the Divinity to movement in terms of an entirely terrestrial and human goal. Charles A. Beard speaks this language as a spokesman for our own day.

Berdyaev seemed fully aware of this ultra-terrestrial view which the Enlightenment inspired and which resulted in the secularized historiography which we see canonized in American historical literature today. "Enlightened reason," he says in speaking of the Enlightenment's denial of mystery, "claimed to be the judge of the organic reason of history; but in reality a higher reason ought to transcend the mere rational consciousness peculiar to a given organic epoch, that, let us say, of the eighteenth and nineteenth century with all their insufficiencies and defects."⁴

By his enthusiasm for Scheller and his sympathetic understanding of Baader's mysticism,⁵ Berdyaev suggests a certain attachment to German Romanticism and Idealism, which enthusiasm is but his reaction to the Enlightenment and part of the thought pattern both of the European century in which he lived, and the mystical and intuitive orientation of his native Russian Orthodox theology.

In this nineteenth century stream of thought, Hegel assumes for the historian a place of prominence. It was his historical dialectic which captivated Marx who made a metaphysics of

⁴ *Meaning* 6-7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

certain implications of Hegel's philosophy of history. The dialectic feature is not dominant in Berdyaev but it is there. When he described the impact of Hegel on Belinsky, a Russian nearer that author's own day of influence, Berdyaev indicates the relationship of his own thought to Idealism. "In the evolution and revolution of ideas through which Belinsky lived," said Berdyaev, "the crisis which Hegelianism reached in his mind is of particular interest and importance. Russian thought passed through two such crises in regard to Hegelianism: one in Khomyakov which was religious, the other in Belinsky which was social."⁶ This crisis was, of course, due to the deficient theory of knowledge in Hegel. Both sought a basis for something more than noumenal knowledge. In the case of Khomyakov, Berdyaev explains that he launched "into the reflected world of ideas," while Belinsky sought a more objective knowledge in the outward social order. Berdyaev himself solved this same problem by his understanding of history. He himself was identified with the historical process, he reasoned, and the historical process was in its own right the objective reality which he could know. He thus provided for both an objective, rational knowledge as well as an intuitive understanding of the historical process. Because the Incarnation was an historical reality the historical process had an entirely religious nature.

Sister Juanita explains these departures from Idealism in the following precise terms:

Though Kantian influence is apparent in varying degrees throughout Berdyaev's work and though he continued to use the dialectical method of Hegel, he concludes that Idealism is unable to construct a satisfactory historical system because it disengages itself from human existence.⁷

These are rather substantial modifications in nineteenth century Western thought and they clearly indicate that Berdyaev does not follow the alignment of the Westernizers in Russian history. Henri de Visscher considers the laicized state and hope in science to be the vision of this movement. This he contrasts with the Nihilists who looked to determinism and socialism, and the Slavophiles who were devoted to the church.⁸ But here again we see Berdyaev's eclecticism. He seems to have more than respect

⁶ *The Origin of Russian Communism*, (1937, trans. by R. M. French), p. 38.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 238.

⁸ "Vladimir Soloviev et l'Eglise universelle," *Nouvelle Revue Theologique* (Jan., 1953) Vol. 75, 33-47; *Theology Digest*, II (Autumn 1954), 135-140.

for science, especially philosophical science; he protests his Christianity and Orthodoxy, he does not stand back from socialism.

In locating the tap-root of Berdyaev's thought one cannot help but single out Slavophilism. "Berdyaev," says Nicolas Lossky in this connection, "belongs to the group of thinkers who strive to develop a Christian world conception and whose work is the most original expression of Russian philosophical thought. It was begun more than one hundred years ago, with the founders of the Slavophil movement Ivan Kireyevsky and Khomiakov, but came into its own much later, under the influence of Vladimir Soloviev."⁹ This analysis suggests the chord of Berdyaev's interpretative history and lends it a lyricism which is distinctively Slavic: the nation, Christianity, and the world. One seems able to unify the eclectic philosopher in the Slavophil. This will appear more clearly after we have considered precise concepts of Berdyaev's historiography and compare them with those of the Catholic development in the theology of history described above.

In a very striking passage in his third chapter of *The Meaning of History* Berdyaev gives his justification for the eclectic rejections we have just pointed out. "Ultimately," he says, "these systems (of monism, e.g., Idealism) must arrive at some form of acosmism, that is, they must acknowledge the real existence of a unique, absolute and immobile Divinity and consider the mobile plural world with its interior contradictions as unreal in the ontological sense of the word."¹⁰ The basis he lays here is all important. On this "mobile plural world with its interior contradictions" Berdyaev intends to build a philosophical understanding of reality and so it cannot be "unreal in the ontological sense of the word." Berdyaev has purposely cleared the ground by a criticism of metaphysicians for, as Vernon Bourke says, "It is necessary to substitute a dynamic way of knowing for the static consciousness of the metaphysician."¹¹

Berdyaev did not reject the fruits of the empirical studies of history. He admitted the reality they establish but he criticizes them for their inability to discern the inner meaning of history. "Knowledge about the spirit," says Lossky describing Berdyaev's remedy for this deficiency, "is attained not through concepts of reason or logical thought but through living experience. All

⁹ *History of Russian Philosophy* (New York, 1951), 247.

¹⁰ *Meaning*, 46.

¹¹ "The Gnosticism of N. Berdyaev." *Thought*, XI (Dec. 1936), 409-422, 412.

philosophical systems not based upon spiritual experience are naturalistic; they are expressions of lifeless nature."¹² Berdyaev will use the empirical data of the careful historian which has been sifted by logical reason but he will not relegate this to the lifeless heap of phenomenal knowledge as do the systems he criticizes.

This "knowledge about the spirit" is intuitive knowledge, it would seem. It deals with "the historical itself" as distinct from "historical science"; the former concept identifies the present historical experience of the individual with the whole gamut of history, past and future.¹³ The latter deals with false time, the former with true. "But if history postulates the existence of a false time," he explains, "then the divine life ought to postulate that of a good and true time; one that is not opposed to eternity but represents some interior stage or epoch of eternity itself for time, our world, the whole of our world process, from the moment of its inception to that of its end, represents a period, an aeon in the life of eternity, a period or an epoch rooted in it."¹⁴

This is his metaphysical meaning of time and consequently the metaphysics of his history, for, "history is the result of a deep interaction between eternity and time; it is the incessant eruption of eternity into time."¹⁵ So it is through history and its contemplation that Berdyaev is able to attain to a transcendent and metaphysical knowledge, eternally true. "This is the hypothesis of my metaphysics of history," he confesses, "that the terrestrial destiny is predetermined by the celestial, in which the tragedy of illumination and Redemption takes place through the divine passion, and that tragedy determines the process of illuminating world history."¹⁶

This celestial determination comes to focus in man. "In fact," says Berdyaev, "the whole historical destiny can be reduced to that of man, which is in its turn the destiny of the deepest relationship subsisting between man and God, revealed simultaneously in both interior spiritual experience and exterior historical destiny."¹⁷ To arrive at a deeper understanding of this determination and divine relationship one need, then, but dedicate him-

¹² Lossky, *op. cit.*, 234.

¹³ Berdyaev discusses this concept in chapter I, "On the Essence of the Historical: The Meaning of Tradition," of *Meaning*.

¹⁴ *Meaning*, 66.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

self to the discernment of "interior spiritual experience and to concurrence in exterior historical destiny." Here then is the philosopher in contact with a deeper way of knowing, that vital process of history, history both terrestrial and celestial, temporal and eternal, past, present and future.

In reading Berdyaev one finds not only Old Testament messianism but also prophecy. In the light of his metaphysics this is necessary. Not a vague kind of wisdom that comes from a deep knowledge of the past, but a true prophecy of the future and the present course to its fulfillment was suggested by Berdyaev. The prophetic philosopher has been gifted with insight of the divine determinism. Berdyaev devoted himself to achieving a prophetic insight into the Russian destiny, the "Russian idea" in the scheme of an all powerful Providence. In *The Meaning of History* he alludes to his prophecy for Russia but it is in other works that he elaborates it and makes it more precise. "The Russian Idea," he tells us in *Toward a New Epoch*, "includes the synthesis of East and West, of two currents in world history."¹⁸ It would seem that in *The Origin of Russian Communism* he is concerned with a justification of his prophecy and a clarification of it in the face of the problem which Communism creates for it.

Prophecy in the framework of Christianity has for the most part related itself to messianism, the coming of Christ, for example, in the Old Testament, and, in the Christian Era, the expectation of a triumph or suffering for the Church. Eschatology, the coming of the Last Day and the Resurrection of the dead, of course, transcends all of these. "Messianism," he avowed, "is the fundamental theme of history."¹⁹ It is messianism which justified history for Berdyaev and established a doctrine of progress; an absence of a valid messianism has cursed Russian thinkers with nihilism and atheism. The elements of messianism, therefore, were important to his philosophy of history.

The messianism of the Jews Berdyaev considered fulfilled in the coming of Christ. But he criticized, on rather dubious grounds, the absence of immortality and resurrection in the composition of Judaic thought.²⁰ For Berdyaev, it is the bright Sun of Justice bursting forth on the Last Day, lovingly summoning forth from this vale of tears the suffering children of Adam.

¹⁸ *Toward a New Epoch*, (London, 1949, Geof. Bles), 68-69.

¹⁹ *An Essay on Eschatological Metaphysics*, 174; Lossky, *op. cit.*, 243.

²⁰ Berdyaev, *Meaning*, devotes a chapter to this topic.

Like the Jews, however, he admitted of a world epoch impregnated by the spirit of Christianity which would be capable of creating it in its peace, justice and charity. In his last chapter of *The Meaning of History* he attempted to define more exactly what this implies: "religious transfiguration." This religious process was closely related to the stages of development which Berdyaev saw in the historical process which was away from barbarism. The first is toward culture, a condition possessed aristocratically in which intellectual good is created and enjoyed disinterestedly. This soon gives way to civilization, a systematic organization of society under the compulsion of the will to life and power; Capitalism and Communism are in this context. When life is transfigured by religion then these liabilities of civilization are reduced and true culture endures.

Berdyaev thus briefly stated the religious transfiguration which Christianity had achieved: "But historically Christianity passed through periods of barbarism, culture and civilization, although in them all it still represented essentially a transfiguration of life."²¹ He then related Russia to this force of Christianity, persisting through the ages, seeking the Russian contribution to the religious transfiguration of the new epoch. "The Russian soul has, perhaps, also a greater capacity for asserting its will to achieve the miracle of religious transfiguration. Like all the people of the world today we lack culture and are destined to tread the path of civilization. But we shall never be so hide-bound by either cultural symbolism or the pragmatism of civilization as the peoples of the West. The will of the Russian people has need of purification and tempering; and our people has a great expiation in store for it. Only then will its will to transfigure life give it the right to determine its mission in the world."²² This was the prophecy which Berdyaev made for Russia in the creation of a new messianic epoch. Appropriately *The Meaning of History* concludes with this passage.

On this note of Slavophil messianism we can take our starting point of criticism, one made in relation to the Christian, and particularly the Catholic, theology of history. It is evident, first of all, that there is no visible and historical Church, the beginning of the Kingdom of God on earth, the historical extension of the

²¹ In the last chapter of *Meaning* he discusses this topic and defines, more or less, his own particular meaning for these terms. Civilization has a meaning not familiar in western writings.

²² *Toward a New Epoch*, 67-68.

Incarnation, radiating the grace of Christ its head through His members of successive generation of diverse nations. Instead there is a predominance of Christianity merely as an ethic. "Christianity is the greatest of religions because it is in the first place the religion of the Resurrection; and because it reconciles itself to neither death nor oblivion, but strives towards the resurrection of all that is truly existent."²³ While he does not deny the force of divine, and, it would seem, supernatural, grace in history, its radiation from Christ and His Church and its fulfillment in the Church and in Christ receives no emphasis or development, if grace is implied. This deficiency throws light on a noteworthy passage of his final chapter of *The Meaning of History*: "Thus the Hellenistic age and that of universal Roman civilization were destined to give birth to the will to religious transfiguration. And this accounts for the origin of Christianity, whose essential mission was to transfigure life."²⁴

One cannot but feel that Berdyaev's theology of history is so dominantly Slavophil in orientation, so involved in the nationalized development of Orthodoxy, as we have said above, that he has put himself outside the tradition of *The City of God*, and to a substantial degree of the Christian concept of history.²⁵ Because he has not the true concept of the Church as established by Christ, he fails to formulate a convincing world conception, although Lossky says that this is the most original expression of Russian philosophical thought.²⁶ And what is this world conception, essential to a valid Christian history? For Berdyaev as with the Orthodox creed the term is "sobornost," translated, at least as a term, "catholic." The Russian sense of brotherhood fosters it. "It signifies a sort of union of all worthy men in the love of the Holy Spirit," according to Vernon Bourke who attempts to define it as it is used in the writings of Berdyaev.²⁷

This is the root difficulty with Berdyaev's Christianity—its essential distinction from the "Ecclesia", its invisibility as understood by the German Pietism. The door is open to syncretism, which is an open denial of the one Christ and His one Church, the Christ Whom Berdyaev had made the cornerstone of his history. Without understanding the divinely authentic nature of

²³ *Meaning*, 72.

²⁴ *Meaning*, 222.

²⁵ I am thinking here particularly of the visible Church concept of Augustine.

²⁶ Lossky, *op. cit.*, 247.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, 419.

Christianity and adhering to the historical judgments that it points out there can be no philosophy or theology of history. Berdyaev did have an eschatology and a messianism and prophetic judgment in reference to both in the day of final reckoning. In this his history is authentically Christian. But he is unable to study history as progress without the visible Mystical Body of Christ moving through the Ages, the justification of historical events and the touchstone of their historical value. "Berdyaev," Sister Juanita notes, "would not identify the Church in its social and historical manifestations with the eschatological idea of the Kingdom of God."²⁸ In place of Christ's Church, so mutilated by Berdyaev, we find a vague construct of a Slavophil as the basis of his historical judgments.

Contrast this with Devas' view.²⁹ Here the divine economy which speaks in terms of individual human persons dictates a Providential history quite different. Events conspire to bring the Gospel to a new people, regeneration by Baptism takes place and the previous history of the people has its meaning in terms of supernatural progress. De Lubac tells with great insight how even the pagan sacrifices, insofar as there was any valid religious spirit in them, are related to "the perfect sacrifice, from the rising of the sun to its going down," progressing through the historical eras and their nations.³⁰

Nor does this authentic picture of the Church leave unsolved the historical meaning of those "other sheep not of this fold." The members of Christ's Mystical Body in heaven and on earth are united with the central act of history on Calvary, the former by their intercession and the latter by their suffering, apostolic life and prayer. The grace that operates secretly in those peoples and nations who have not through any fault of their own found faith in the Church of Christ, this grace the Members of Christ in every age are instrumental in bringing to them. Thus we have a dynamic world concept of the Church and her members, one that embraces all men with the deepest sacrificial love. Any authentic history must, therefore, be inspired and guided by this world concept and the Divine and human love implied in it. All of this a true theology of history establishes.

We have seen from various standpoints the notion of prophecy

²⁸ *Op. cit.*

²⁹ *Key to the World's Progress*, (New York, 1924) by Charles Stanton Devas.

³⁰ Particularly in *Catholicisme*, chapter 5, "Le Christianisme et l'histoire."

in Berdyaev's philosophy of history. This would seem to meet a need which arises in his system from its lack of the visible teaching *magisterium* of the Church. As an Orthodox he speaks with enthusiasm of the freedom of thought which obligation only to the first ecumenical councils of the Church has left the individual. The meaning Christianity has, in the light of succeeding ages, the individual must himself determine. Prophecy and desire for it thus becomes understandable in Berdyaev since so great a task needs such an extraordinary instrument. Nevertheless, even Berdyaev the philosopher was wary in its exercise and his uncertainty is apparent to one who has followed his writings.

It is Catholic teaching that Christian dogma undergoes development so that succeeding generations probe deeper and deeper into its meaning and implications. The changing experience of the members of the Church qualifies them to see meanings which were not entirely evident to preceding ages of the Church. We have shown how Medieval theology came to an understanding of the nature of the Fall and the integrity of man in such a way as to deal more successfully with the problem which harrassed Augustine, the relation of Christianity to human culture. Berdyaev continued with some of this confusion, deprived of the benefits of the Church as a living teacher for all ages.

There is a suggestion here that Berdyaev's notion of prophecy underscores with new meaning the living pronouncements of the teaching Church. He was deeply concerned with the outline of a new epoch and so should the Catholic be; but it is not necessary to seek a prophetic intuition. The structure of a new society which Berdyaev sought was being designed and elaborated in his own day in the great social encyclicals. We know that these writings are the normal manifestations of the divinely authenticated teaching power of the Church. Not indeed that all is of faith and sealed with infallibility, for they on the whole do not have this preciseness, but they do serve as a sure guide under conditions in which the Holy Ghost does not assure the individual. How much surer could have been Berdyaev's judgment of Communism and Socialism; how much more precise his analysis of Capitalism.

In the economy of a Petrine centered Christianity, an infallible teaching authority, there is perennial surety against the subtle deductions of nationalism which one sees inherent in Berdyaev's Slavophilism. The world concept which he seems to have failed in constructing could have been more surely pursued.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MEDIAEVAL

Mediaeval Institutions, Selected Essays, by Carl Stephenson. Edited by Bruce D. Lyon. Ithaca, N. Y. Cornell University. 1954. pp. xiv, 289. \$5.00.

This book of ten previously published essays is not without purpose and value. For here we have, in convenient form, what are probably Stephenson's greatest historical contributions, consisting in scholarly investigations, based on original sources, displaying acute historical reasoning, and frequently challenging established historical misconceptions. Furthermore, despite varying topics, the studies manifest a unity of theme: the political evolution of mediaeval Europe from the early Germans, and the states they established, through feudalism, to the ushering in of a new system of taxation involving representation.

Among the main points made by Stephenson are the following. Both feudalism and taxation evolved gradually from very early prototypes in mediaeval Europe, England included. Many elements of feudalism, such as a military aristocracy, dependence of the agrarian masses, and the practice of commendation, existed from earliest historical times among the Germans on the continent, as well as among those in Anglo-Saxon England. Royal grants of immunity also appear from a very early date, as in seventh century England. Complete feudalism developed on the continent when, from the exigencies of a transition in warfare to highly trained, professional heavy cavalry, the military fief was developed, and added to other (preexistent) elements of the feudal system. This complete feudalism came to England only with the Normans (1066), who, along with military change, introduced the feudal fief. Tailles, or the exaction of money from subjects by rulers, royal and seigneurial, were probably introduced in the turbulent times of the ninth to eleventh centuries, and were, in fact, an incident of dependence. But mediaeval communes obtained from their rulers grants of freedom from arbitrary or indeterminate tailles. Hence when rulers wished to obtain from such communes additional revenues, they were obliged to negotiate with the townspeople. The concession of these "aids" was prompted by fear and prudence, as well as by benevolence and concern for the common good. In the course of time, these "aids" became customary, but negotiations for such grants, and their amounts, were still necessary or useful. To facilitate matters, rulers tended to deal with the representatives of towns gathered in bodies, as in estates or parliamentary houses. The position of such representatives was primarily as spokesmen for their own local communities, rather than legislative or judicial.

Stephenson's articles shed light on historical problems of fundamental importance, and help banish long-standing illusions. They also provide us with a view of the painstaking investigations and clear reasonings of a great historical scholar. They are thus object-lessons in historical research, valuable for the example they offer teachers, as well as students of history.

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

English Historical Documents, edited by Dorothy Whitelock. I, 500-1042. New York. Oxford University Press. 1955. pp. 867. \$12.80.

This is the first volume in chronological order, although not the first to be published, of the new series on English Historical Documents. The three main divisions of the book comprises in the first part the "Secular Narrative" sources, and large amount of materials here are from a new translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in addition to copious materials from other annals and from Latin writers who had access to versions of the A.S.C. which have been lost.

Part II contains a large selection from laws and charters of the period (items 29-133), then examples of Guild regulations (136-139) and manumissions (140-150). In the third section, the "Ecclesiastical Sources", the pre-Viking and the post-Viking Church in England is illustrated from the documents which have come down to us. All in all the work contains some 240 separate documents varying from a few pages to the citation of more than a hundred pages of the A.S.C. The price is unfortunately high, but the whole series will ultimately give us the largest collection of sources in the English language about English history that has been edited thus far.

L. J. Daly, St. Louis University.

Saint Dunstan of Canterbury by Eleanor Shipley Duckett. New York. Norton & Co. 1955. pp. 249. \$4.00.

The historical productions of Eleanor Duckett have always been marked with sound scholarship and deep understanding, a characteristic, unfortunately, not always found in modern historians of medieval men and their deeds. In the present biography the author has continued that tradition in a striking way. Every page gives evidence of wide and careful reading of source materials and important secondary works and thus she is able to recreate tenth century England in a vivid, accurate way. The sorrows and joys, the achievements and difficulties of the great reformer of English monasticism, St. Dunstan, and of his two stalwart coadjutors in the work, Aethelwold and Oswald, are well recorded.

The author carefully distinguishes between legend and fact, as well as one can winnow them at present, and yet she does not fall into that biting skepticism which has marred too much historical writing. We have the picture of Dunstan, severe yet kindly, a man of action and a man of prayer, fighting the good fight as best he could amidst difficulties and obstacles, internal, external and fraternal, that would have broken many a lesser man. Perhaps the writer's sympathy and understanding is most in evidence in the matter of Dunstan's ideals and his re-introduction into England of the strict interpretation of the Benedictine *Regula* which caused not only joy to the zealous but sorrow to the sluggish and to those whose choir stalls were taken by more zealous monks after years or decades of occupation. The canons had a case but Dunstan had both a case and a cause, and the cause of monastic reform was much the more important.

A most helpful chapter for class lectures on monasticism is the explanation of the daily practice of the *Regularis Concordia*, that "Monastic Agreement" which meant so much to the permanency of the reform in tenth century England. This is but one instance, for the book is helpful throughout and not least in the significant final sentence: "In England, Dunstan's

work of renewing was renewed by Lanfranc, in Lotharingia, Richard of Saint Vanne and Poppo of Stavelot-Malmedy were to reform afresh . . . thus wave after wave succeeds, here as elsewhere, now ebbing, now carrying forward the tide, in a sea that remains the same."

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

The History of Bukhara. Translated from a Persian abridgement of the Arabic original by Narshakhi by Richard N. Frye. Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy, 1954. pp. xx, 178. \$5.00 (\$4.00 to Members of the Academy).

Although well nigh forgotten today, Bukhara was, during the period under consideration in this *History* (ca. 673-999), one of the principal cities of the world, and a rival of Baghdad and Cairo. Located on a principal trade-route between the Near and Far East, Bukhara was a thriving metropolis and political center between the Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers to the southeast of the Aral in Transoxiana. This area was conquered and incorporated into the Umayyad Caliphate by the Moslem General Qutaybah in the early 8th century. As the subsequent capital of the Samanids, who ruled over surrounding territories, including Khurasan as well as Transoxiana, in the later ninth and the tenth centuries (874-999), Bukhara was an intellectual and cultural center as well as a thriving industrial and commercial metropolis. Although the Samanids accorded a vague theoretical recognition to the orthodox Caliph in Baghdad, they were, in practice, independent rulers. In the magnificent library which these patrons of arts and letters maintained in their capital, such brilliant scholars as al-Razi (Rhazes) and Ibn Sina (Avicenna) studied. A critical borderland between the Persian-speaking Indo-European peoples and the Turkish-speaking Mongoloid orientals, Transoxiana was taken over by the former in this period, and Bukhara became in fact a great center of Persian culture, and even cradled a rebirth of Persian literature.

The present *History of Bukhara* was originally written in Arabic by Narshaki in 943 or 944, and dedicated to the ruling Samanid. In the 12th century, the work was translated into Persian, and brought down to the close of the Samanid period (ca. 999). It was subsequently abridged by successive scholars. Existing manuscripts date from the 15th to 19th centuries. The work, though jerky, and far from providing a comprehensive history, does give valuable items of information concerning the history of Bukhara and Central Asia from the seventh to tenth centuries. It reflects the turbulence of the period and area, witnesses the profound effects of the Islamic faith on life and thought, and affords glimpses of the economic and social, as well as the political history of Bukhara and its milieu.

Frye's careful translation, the first to be made in English, is based on three 19th century manuscripts and three printed editions. It is copiously annotated, and supplied with an extensive bibliography. It is to be regretted that the introduction could not have been long enough to include a survey of the history of Bukhara and Transoxiana in the period. A map or two would also have been a great help. Although the appeal of such a work is limited, it is still a valuable contribution for the amplification and revision of history.

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

Four Stages of Renaissance Style, by Wylie Sypher. New York. Doubleday & Co. 1955. pp. 312. \$1.25.

Professor Sypher, Chairman of the Language, Literature and Arts Division of Simmons College, Boston, and Dean of the Graduate Division, attempts in *Four Stages of Renaissance Style* to show the relationship between the visual arts and literature during the period from 1400 to 1700. The four stages of Renaissance style which he considers are: renaissance, which "achieves a single vision, for the world of renaissance art and science was founded upon a theory of correct proportions"; mannerism, an "experiment with many techniques of disproportion and disturbed balance"; baroque, resolving "matter in energy" and "energy in space"; and late baroque, the end of the cycle which "returned upon itself in many diplomatic rules of decorum, propriety, unity and vraisemblance." In literature, for example, Professor Sypher places Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure*, and Milton's *Lycidas* in the mannerist style. Later, in his study, he places Milton's *Paradise Lost* in the baroque style. While he traces this cyclic development in the visual arts and in literature, he also develops a continuity of ideas which is both interesting and informative. He appears to place too great an emphasis on the Council of Trent's influence on the mannerist and baroque styles. Perhaps he could be clearer and more exact regarding the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.

Professor Sypher also appears to be too broad and a little too pat in his consideration of the various styles, especially the mannerist and the baroque; and it is probable that these considerations will not be totally accepted by all critics. Nevertheless, his attempt to relate literature by analogy to this cyclic development of styles in the visual arts is of sufficient significance to open new areas of research for students of literature.

This book, which covers a vast amount of material for its size, is well documented and contains a functional bibliography. *Four Stages of Renaissance Style* is an admirable handling of difficult critical problems affording those people who are not specialists an interesting insight into the study of the visual arts and literature.

Robert A. Lodge, Saint Louis University.

Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World, by Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond. New York. Columbia Univ. Press. 1955. pp. 458. \$6.75.

This scholarly source collection illustrating the growth and transformation of trade and commercial practices comprises a selection of some two hundred documents translated into English for the first time. They are taken from originals in Latin, Greek, Italian, old French, Catalan, Provençal, and even from Arabic examples found translated in German, French, Italian, or Spanish collections. The majority of the documents are taken from records of notarial instruments, judicial acts, promissory notes, and accounting books.

In a work of this nature the authors have pointedly refused to express their own views at length since they have done so or will do so in other publications, but the footnotes are full of helpful suggestions and explanations. The Italian documents are far in the majority, and as the editors note, "this is as it should be . . . Italy north of the Tiber was so far ahead

of the other nations in all fields of commercial activity that it would have been possible to give a panorama by using Genoese or Florentine documents exclusively . . ."

The documents are not merely chronologically arranged but selected for clarity and fullness of content. They range from the "origins of the Commercial Revolution to markets and merchandise, kinds of merchants, evolution of means of exchange (Parts I, II), Commercial contracts and investments especially the Commenda contract (III), and the transportation route by sea and land, the development of insurance contracts and problems in business failures (IV), to the concluding section of lengthy extracts from standard medieval business manuals. There is a bibliography of works cited and a detailed index of eleven pages in fine print.

Certainly this book should prove of great value to every teacher of survey courses in medieval and early modern history as well as to the economic historians.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

Ancient Education, by William A. Smith. New York. Philosophical Library. 1955. pp. 321. \$3.75.

Of the first four chapters in this book, one deals with a summary of historical information about early cultures, and the other three with culture and education in each of the following areas: Mesopotamia and Egypt, Ancient India, Ancient China. Then follow two chapters for each of the following cultures: Greece, Rome, the Hebrews; one chapter on each culture is a historical summary, the other is on education. The final chapter is on education in nonliterate societies.

The historical coverage is best indicated by the references frequently cited by numbers keyed to a list at the end of the chapter. Let us take, for instance, the two chapters on Greece which are keyed to one book list at the end of Chapter VI. Out of thirty-four books listed, nine are elementary textbooks in history, seven are general histories of education. The use of these books as sources can be indicated by an analysis of Chapter V, The Rise of Greek Culture. In this chapter of 36 pages there are 150 citations to books for statements and quotations. Of these, 45 are to Trever, *History of Civilization*, Vol. I; 17 are to Ralph Turner, *The Great Cultural Traditions*, Vol. I; 15 are to Webster, *History of Civilization—Ancient and Medieval*; 13 to Will Durant, *The Life of Greece*; 11 to Fuller, *A History of Philosophy* I; 10 to Bury, *A History of Greece*, 2nd ed.; 8 to Harry Elmer Barnes, *A History of Western Civilization* Vol. I; 6 each to Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, and Smith and Case, *A Short History of Western Civilization*; 4 to Walbank and Taylor, *Civilization Past and Present* Vol. 1, and 3 to Langer's *Encyclopedia of World History*.

The chapters on education deal almost entirely with formal instruction in schools, hence none contains very much information since little is available. Throughout, the point of view is highly positivistic, secular and materialistic. The author cherishes dearly the notion that some societies have been so priest-ridden that the common man never had a chance. The sociology and anthropology in all chapters is quoted or paraphrased from

works by A. L. Kroeber. There are many emotional references to democracy but in the chapters on Greece there is no notice of either the nature of Athenian democracy nor of what has often been called "the greatest experiment in adult education the world has ever known".

The chapters on the Hebrews are taken largely from Meek, *Hebrew Origins*. The approach to Hebrew Religion is exclusively "evolutionary". Throughout, the author gives one the impression of a person who is borrowing interpretations and adapting hypotheses without knowledge of the conjectures upon which they rest. Some of the statements are rash: for instance (p. 226), the statement that Hebrew literature because it was so largely in the service of religion scarcely existed in its own right. And what must a specialist in Hellenistic history say to this (p. 220)? "Both Egypt and the Seleucid Empire had become thoroughly hellenized." Although he quotes with approval (p. 198) a statement that "there is not a shred of evidence in support of the historicity of Moses—", a few pages later (p. 201) he announces boldly that the Philistines hailed from the Aegean Islands, including Crete, and carried the elements of Minoan culture.

A few more remarks are unavoidable. Those of us who regard the building of the Italian Confederation as the greatest piece of Roman statecraft will hardly be satisfied with a reference which notes only that the Romans did not treat the allies well and did not understand "large-scale federation". There is no mention anywhere in the book, of course, of recent work except as the later textbooks have mentioned it. The Pylos Tablets and the work of Ventris on linear script B receive no mention. The great Minoan thalassocracy is still an unquestioned fact.

Those of us who look for references to Pauly-Wissowa will look in vain. A careful search discovered a listing of volumes 1 and 2 of the Cambridge Ancient History in the book list for chapters IX and X on the Hebrews—but, alas, no mention of later volumes.

Thomas A. Brady, University of Missouri.

Medieval Essays, by Christopher Dawson. New York. Sheed and Ward. 1954. pp. vii, 271. \$3.50.

The present collection reproduces eight previously published essays plus four new essays by the brilliant convert to Catholicism. Although something of a *melanges*, most of these essays have a central theme, which has, indeed, been the keynote of Dawson's research and writing: the formative and dynamic place of Christianity in Western history and culture. It may not be out of place to refer to a few sample Dawsonian theses: Christians should push the study of the history of Christian culture, hitherto neglected, v.g. in our universities (p. 7). This study should not proceed along narrow, nationalistic, or sectarian, religious lines, but should rather approach the subject of European culture according to its own formal principles, sc. more as an ethnologist would study it (p. 118). During the Middle Ages, a fully formed Church operated in a social and cultural milieu which was in the process of formation, and the result was a State, within a Church (p. 73 and *passim*). Monasticism was a definite sociological expression of the ideals of Christianity, and as such a perennial

source of spiritual refreshment and renewal for the rest of the Church (p. 67-68). The great achievement and novelty of the Middle Ages was the understanding and love of the humanity of Christ, which reached its culmination in St. Francis of Assissi (p. 111). Examples of the work of Christian synthesis, or the operation of Christian principles in medieval culture, which reached its height in the 13th century (p. 10), and declined in the Later Middle Ages (p. 116), are to be found in the "Christianizing of Aristotle" inaugurated by Albertus Magnus, the *chansons de geste*, the *Divine Comedy*, Roger Bacon's scientific ideal, etc. (pp. 158, 161, *et alibi*).

Dawson's essays combine in a masterful fashion the fruits of broad reading and penetrating reflection, and provide both food for thought and a stimulus to further investigation.

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

MODERN

The Catholic Church in World Affairs, edited by Waldemar Gurian and M. A. Fitzsimmons. Notre Dame, Indiana. University of Notre Dame Press. 1954. pp. 420. \$4.25.

This volume of sixteen essays aims to present an account of the Catholic Church in the contemporary world. One section of the work gives general accounts of major problems and activities of the church; the other gives studies of particular countries. There is first an introduction by Gunan which gives in general terms the position and work of the Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This essay is followed by a discussion "On the Structure of the Church—State Problem", "Papal Diplomacy: Its Organization and Way of Acting", "The Popes and Peace in the Twentieth Century", "Democracy and the Catholic Church", "The Doctrinal Issue between the Church and Democracy", "The Church and Human Rights". At this point there is an account of "The New Situation of Continental Protestantism after World War II" which is placed ahead of the last general essay "The Present State and Problems of the Missions". The remaining essays are accounts of the contemporary state of Catholicism in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, England, the United States and Latin America with a second essay for the United States, concerning the social question.

The papacy and the Church constitute one of the great—in fact the greatest—forces for good in the present world. The various authors have with great ability and excellence presented their various subjects. The account of the Church in Spain will probably be a great surprise to Americans, who, as far as I know, never had a fair presentation of the Spanish situation laid before them.

No one will, I suppose, agree with all that is said in this volume. Experts on the various topics treated will not accept everything that is said. I have my own reservations as to the essay "The Catholic Church and the American Social Question". These authors are capable and learned but they are not the Church speaking officially.

J. E. Cantwell, Saint Louis University.

Today's Isms: Communism, Fascism, Socialism, Capitalism, by William Ebenstein. New York. Prentice-hall. 1954. pp. x, 191. \$3.95.

Recently a number of books have appeared on "the isms," studies that describe and compare these various ideologies and the way they have been realized in different countries. Professor Ebenstein is well known for his writings on Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, as well as his studies in political thought. In this brief book he describes two totalitarian "isms", Communism and Fascism, which he does not like, and two democratic "isms," capitalism and socialism, which he does like. Ebenstein can best be described as an American liberal who believes in individual rights and is convinced that they can be realized for all men only with some kind of a welfare state. He belongs to the group of intellectuals who support the general aims of the New Deal and the Fair Deal and stand in opposition to such modern devotees of conservatism as Russell Kirk and F. A. Hayek. From this point of view he makes this brief, well organized summary of the principal doctrines and practices of the four "isms" named in the title of his book.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

Modern Germany, Its History and Civilization, by Koppel S. Pinson. New York. Macmillan Co. 1954. pp. 637. \$10.00.

"This work is written frankly from the standpoint of one who finds liberal democracy, humanitarianism, and the ethical ideals of the Judeo-Christian tradition most congenial to his own frame of mind . . ." (IX)

". . . The road towards a free, united, and democratic Germany is a difficult and thorny one, and the prospects for success are far from propitious. . . . Let the political leaders who must make these decisions never lose sight of the deeper trends in the history of Germany that have shaped the development of its people and laid the basis for its present plight." (571)

Between Introduction and final sentence of the concluding chapter with the headline "From chaos to uncertainty", the past 150 years of German history are presented on 571 pages with added bibliographic and extensive text notes and a valuable index. The author has written an excellent book with scholarly competence and, especially in view of his own background, admirable objectivity. Thus his work deserves high credit as a most welcome contribution to German history texts in English language, extremely useful as supplementary reading for class-work.

Twenty-two well arranged and documented chapters cover the period from Napoleon to the NATO, with main emphasis on German social, economic and cultural thought as well as artistic, literary and intellectual trends. It is particularly commendable that the author avoids the usual generalities and refers to schools of thought and representative names, only rarely mentioned in similar treatises; this is particularly true for the period between 1848 and 1919. Any student of modern German history should indeed be familiar with the critical thinking of Onno Klopp and Konstantin Frantz, the ideas of Lagarde and Lasalle, the social work of Kolping and v. Ketteler, the platforms of Ludwig Windthorst, Wilhelm and

Karl Liebknecht; he should be helped to form a balanced judgment of the Romanticists, Prussian Conservatives and early Socialists. Chapters IX and X about Catholic and Socialist tradition in Germany are especially well done. Names like Richard Wagner and Friedrich Nietzsche are not only put in the right context, but their work is explained and evaluated in view of their impact on the general intellectual and emotional atmosphere.

Of course no piece of historic writing can possibly be so perfect that no question-marks would remain especially if it does not merely try to give facts but takes efforts to put them into correct perspective. The more stimulating the reading, the less inclined might an attentive reader feel to accept uncritically all presented conclusions at their face value. What matters is that he is put in a position to use the material for a well-substantiated, corroborated appraisal. Pinson chose to write a history of modern Germany in one volume; therefore he had necessarily to accept certain limits in his objective; thus he decided to confine himself to the political boundaries of what became after 1870 the German Reich. Furthermore, for obvious technical reasons he could not afford to trace its origin further back than to the aftermath of the French Revolution. It is at least open to question whether the avowed final purpose, adequate understanding of the present German situation, could be fully obtained without going back to the partitions of Poland, probably even farther to the 16th century. It is even more questionable whether German history and civilization can be explained without including destiny and contributions of the "ethnic Germans" irrespective their former political organization. German history does hardly allow rationalization without a broader central- and central-eastern European perspective. Pinson was certainly well aware of this fact. But whenever in a perfunctory way he crosses the borders of the German Reich into the former Habsburg territories, he gives the impression of moving uncomfortably on less familiar ground. In the opinion of this reviewer this becomes quite obvious in his analysis of the Metternich period and the St. Paul's assembly with regard of the central-European reaction to early German hegemonial aspirations. Is it not true that "the tumultuous decades of the 20th century", foreseen or experienced, inevitably inspired a reevaluation of 19th century's political thought?

There are some minor inaccuracies which in any new edition could easily be corrected. The last Roman Emperor became Francis I of Austria not by renouncing his former title in 1806, but two years earlier (31). Johann of Austria, elected Reichsverweser (1848), as a member of the Habsburg family, was known as archduke (not Grand Duke) and behind his election stood more than merely the fact that "he had attained popularity by marrying a middle class girl and by making a speech on German unity (97). Rainer Maria Rilke had not enough personal ties with Germany that he could truly be called "the greatest lyric poet of Wilhelmian Germany" (262). To classify the Viennese Christian-Social Lueger together with his pangerman arch-antagonist Schoenerer as an Austrian ally of Fiechte, Duehring, Lagarde, Stoecker and H. St. Chamberlain in regard of Antisemitism, is an oversimplification and as such misleading (504). So is the general statement that the Vatican was the first foreign power to enter into treaty relations with Hitler (515). The Concordat of 1933 cannot possibly be compared with later political pacts, such as the Anglo-German naval agree-

ment of 1935, or Munich treaty and Nazi-Soviet pact. Besides the entirely different meanings and purposes, the different constitutional situation in Germany before and after summer 1934 must be given due attention (515).

On the other hand Pinson does full justice to the part of Catholic and Protestant churches in the resistance movement in Germany.

Nothing said in this review was meant to detract from the high value of Pinson's book which in the opinion of this reviewer is an outstanding achievement and one of the best more recently written history texts on modern Germany.

Kurt v. Schuschnigg, Saint Louis University.

Anthropology, by J. E. Manchip White. New York. Philosophical Library. 1955. pp. 191. \$2.75.

The growth of anthropology is no accident. Man is seaching everywhere for answers to the many problems which modern culture has posed for him. Therefore, an introductory text, a small work which will acquaint the non-specialist with the trends and viewpoints in this science should be very welcome. However, it does not seem that this is the book which will fulfill that purpose. Too much time is spent on "soapbox oratory", and not enough on the scientific aspect of the subject matter; for instance the treatment of the Nazis and the problem of "race" smacks more of propaganda than science. The five chapter headings deal with the most important areas of emphasis in anthropology, but the material contained in each one is not well organized. For the reader who has never delved much into anthropology the book will not be a waste of time, since it is rapidly read, and the bibliography given at the end of each chapter is recent and worthwhile, so that the reader can find sources for further study.

F. C. Keeler, Saint Louis University.

The Letters of St. Margaret Mary. Translated by Rev. Clarence A. Herbst, S.J. Chicago. Henry Regnery Company. 1954. pp. 282. \$5.00.

Devotion to the Sacred Heart in modern times has been called a revolution of Divine Love, even a new revelation. It was to St. Margaret Mary Alcoque, a nun of the Visitation Order, that our Lord appeared perhaps as often as forty times between 1673 and 1690 and commissioned her to spread devotion to His Heart throughout the world. The assignment seemed utterly beyond realization considering her cloistered life, her retiring disposition, her complete self-effacement. Yet Christ desired precisely these conditions in order that the world would know that this vast movement of love which was nothing else than a second Pentecost would be literally a work of divine ingenuity. The Letters of St. Margaret Mary written from the obscure post of her convent at Paray le Monial in France are integral to promotion of devotion to the Sacred Heart. Their publication in English is an important contribution to the literature of Faith. If in our day the conflict between diabolical hate and Divine Love has reached its highest point of intensity, then Father Herbst has served well those who are with Christ in this battle which St. Paul called the good fight.

Eugene P. Murphy, Director, Radio League of the Sacred Heart.

Christianity and Civilization, by Carlton J. H. Hayes. Stanford Press. 1954. pp. 63. \$2.50.

This small book of some sixty pages has an innocent look about it. But one must beware, for it is shot through with deep thoughts and solid philosophical common sense, born of this great historian's wide knowledge of men and their affairs. With clarity and courage he champions the thesis "that certain distinctive features of Western civilization, specifically its ideals of freedom, limited government and humanitarian compassion, have been inspired and given substance primarily by its historic religion," (p. v). Each of these items is given a short but scintillating treatment.

The love of individuality and freedom peculiar to the West is often emphasized, but the author also notes that widespread industrialization does not mean that we shall have a "global civilization", as a visitor to that most industrialized of all oriental lands, Japan, soon realizes. The love of individual freedom instanced by the frequent medieval charters of liberty and the rarer but nonetheless real deposition of tyrannical rulers down through the Christian centuries proves time and again that totalitarianism is *not* a popular European product. "Plural Authority" and the love of constitutional government are also characteristic of European Christian civilization. "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's" definitively divided pagan and Christian political theory. Whether we are thinking of the Christian martyrs, the Gregorian reformers, or the Scotch Presbyterians of the Seventeenth century, every Christian who holds to a divinely revealed religion can never submit to the totalitarian state whether it be the version of Trajan, Hitler or the latest Kremlin Committee.

The influence of the Christian ideas of "Progress and Compassion" form the last of these stimulating essays, as the author points out the missionary character of Christianity and notes that, although material progress is customarily said to be characteristically European, the spiritual progress of European Christian civilization is much more basic. Anti-slavery societies, Christian hospitals, the attitude of "Women and Children first", the West's constant hatred of infanticide—all these are but indications of the characteristically European ideals of Charity and Compassion.

A brief review cannot do justice to the book. These essays need to be pondered by every teacher of the social sciences for they contain not only a clear, Christian philosophy of European civilization but an optimistic one.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

Politics and Science, by William Esslinger. Philosophical Library, New York, 1955. pp. xi, 167. \$3.00.

This is a very provocative little book. Though it is not possible to agree with the author's position throughout, it is only fair to say that he at least raises the basic questions involved in the area of politics, and stimulates the thinking of his readers thereon. As he sees it, the most fundamental problem confronting mankind today is the enormous maladjustment of the organizational to the technical part of our civilization; moreover, the organizational deficiencies do not concern small groups, but are national and even international in scope. In other words, as Raymond Fosdick put it a few years ago in the *New York Times Magazine*, "we are discovering the

right things but in the wrong order, which is another way of saying that we are learning how to control nature before we have learned how to control ourselves."

Esslinger's solution to this problem is, for him, very simple. It involves the rejection of every form of activity that cannot be fitted into the scientific method. And science is a way of solving problems. "It is a kind of activity, not a thing." As for religion, "the Church had its day without achieving the Good Society." As for ethical considerations, "morality is not the basis of law, either historically or at present." Education has as its main task the cultivation of the scientific spirit. "Learning facts is necessary, but it is not the essence of education. What matters is the scientific attitude." With this position, though not on the same premises, it is difficult to disagree.

Esslinger also considers the objections to a "science" of politics. He does an interesting, though not always effective job of demolishing these objections. He also considers very objectively the difficulties in the way of his ideal "science" of politics. To this reviewer, politics must always remain more than mere "science", since ends as well as means must be included in its pursuit.

Much else of real value is offered, in interesting fashion. The actual training of men for a life in "politics" is no doubt deficient, and Esslinger's proposals for new and better "schools of politics" are challenging and stimulating. In a review of this length, it is not possible to present his ideas adequately. The book must be read, and carefully, to draw from it the best thinking which it can provoke. An appendix is devoted to the problem which Esslinger evidently finds the most elemental of modern times—why we lost the peace. The documentation is ample and well-done.

Paul G. Steinbicker, Saint Louis University.

Czartoryski and European Unity 1770-1861, by M. Kukiel. Princeton. Princeton University. 1955. pp. xvii, 354. \$6.00.

It is necessarily gratifying to a world concerned with the problem of peaceful unity and East-West cooperation that the learned Polish academician and general, Marian Kukiel, now of the Polish University in London, should have chosen the present moment to add to the scanty shelf having to do with a Polish statesman who in his time made sincere efforts to solve Europe's perennial Russian question. The story is that of a patriot who was the contemporary of five Russian sovereigns, two of whom he served; it is the intriguing and well-documented tale of a man who chatted and crossed swords with world figures: Rumiantsev, Nesselrode, Gorchakov; Talleyrand, Guizot, Thiers; Pitt, Fox, Castlereagh, Grey, Palmerston; Metternich, Buol, the Great Napoleon and his nephew. Kukiel's biography of Czartoryski will be welcomed by instructors in European history because of the panorama of continental events it presents bridging a period from the time of Jefferson to the presidency of Abraham Lincoln.

Careful students of Russian history will thank General Kukiel for at least indicating the possibility of controversy regarding certain issues during the lengthy period considered. They may not, however, be entirely satisfied with the rather arbitrary statement (against such authorities as A. Sorel, J. H. Rose and S. Askenazy) that "careful analysis shows that"

Czartoryski's noteworthy *Article pour l'arrangement des affaires de l'Europe à la suite d'une guerre heureuse* "could not have been drafted earlier than late 1806". In connection with the pan-Slav coloration of the document it is rather disconcerting to note that Kukiel does not mention in his book the name of the illustrious V. N. Karazin, Alexander's quondam Minister of Education and founder of Kharkov University who broached similar notions on the score of European map-making in a letter of 21 November of 1804 addressed to the Tsar through Czartoryski.

The author's documentation and analysis strike the reader as particularly sound in his treatment of the historical preludes to Russia's first Great Fatherland War. He traces the role played by the Tsar's Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs in the growth of the sovereign's conviction that a rupture with Napoleon was inevitable and near at hand. Proper stress is thus placed on the fact that the Empire was by no means completely unprepared for the "surprise" attack of June 1812.

In view of the author's background as a Polish patriot the reader might expect considerable lack of balance. Although he may suspect a certain uncritical approach to the ideals of Kukiel's great compatriot, he will nevertheless be refreshed by the author's interestingly generous interpretation of grand Duke Constantine's activities in Poland at the time of the insurrection of 1831. The lesson pointed up by that tragic event and stressed by the author as the West's inability to carry through in unity against a Russian menace on the side of an integral Poland is of lasting significance. Catholic students of Poland's history will be interested by General Kukiel's detailed analysis of Czartoryski's development from "a liberal statesman of his time, opposing any influence of the Church and paying mere lip service to the sanctity of the Christian religion" to a man who finally came to employ "the more humble language of a believer," dying, as, he did, with the last sacraments and a blessing for Poland on his lips.

Marian Kukiel's book constitutes an invaluable chapter in the tragic history of Russia and Poland. It is a scholarly work, replete with telling footnotes and twelve pages of intensive bibliography. Well over half the works cited in this outstanding contribution to Slavonic history are original sources.

Frank Fadner, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.

Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution, by William Haller. New York. Columbia University Press. 1955. pp. 410. \$6.00.

The Great Civil War in England in the Seventeenth Century is usually studied from too negative a point of view; that is to say the attacks on the royal government become well appreciated and the Puritan campaign against the Established Church is understood; but insufficient attention is paid to the creative thinking of the various opponents of royal government in church and state. This book offers an excellent corrective. It deals with the years 1638 to 1649 only. In describing the Puritan attack upon Charles' government a clear distinction is made between the two chief divisions of Puritans: those who were Presbyterian and those who would not enforce any closely regulated church system by statute on their countrymen. It is shown how the English Presbyterians were powerfully supported by those in Scotland, and the reasons for this support are well brought out.

To their dismay, however, these Presbyterians found out that the strong arguments they made use of against the Established Church could equally be used against the setting up of a Presbyterian State Church. The book thoroughly exposes the struggle between the two Puritan groups for mastery. Mastery, however, was at first sought through Parliament; but the disintegration of Parliament as the Civil War proceeded led to the increasing predominance of the Army. Thus the Puritans took the struggle over authority in religion to the Cromwellian Army, which preferred Independency to Presbyterianism.

While the principles governing religion and freedom in religion were being ruthlessly threshed out, it became increasingly clear that many of them had an application to civil government. This advance was notably the concern of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne and his associates who led what was known as the Leveller Movement. The career of Lilburne and the views of the Levellers are very well described and illustrated by quotations in the book. The summary of them given by the author (p. 307) shows clearly how they expressed views more commonly associated with French political writers of the following century or with the Chartists of the nineteenth century.

The author of the book writes interestingly and clearly, and introduces a great number of apt quotations from contemporary writers into his narrative. Indeed so thoroughly are the views of important writers and military men of the time given that the book provides sketches of the views of John Milton, Oliver Cromwell and John Lilburne full enough to satisfy all but close students of the period. The book also brings home to the reader the tremendous importance of both preaching and pamphleteering to the life of the time.

Perhaps the most abiding and valuable impression left by the book is a grand view of religious earnestness which is a spiritual tonic to us who live in more religiously indifferent days. Puritanism has too long been associated with a contempt which the movement as a whole does not deserve. However misguided some manifestations of it may have been, there can be little doubt that it will in time become increasingly regarded as a fine example of religious enthusiasm and zeal for the service of God, and a fruitful hour in the history of Englishmen.

The book is handsomely produced by the Columbia University Press. There is an index but no bibliography. The very numerous notes are at the end of the book. They rarely include more than a short reference to a contemporary document. Only one misprint was noticed: November is misspelled on page 314.

Eric McDermott, Georgetown University.

The French Theory of the Nation in Arms, 1866-1939, by Richard D. Challener. New York. Columbia University Press. 1955. pp. 305. \$4.50.

France, traditional friend of America, whose past has been so brilliant, whose contribution to our western civilization has been so important—this France has now grown old and in its present state is ill. Any group is weak and ill which stands divided, and Frenchmen have been divided among themselves ever since the great revolution. If only kings had been less tyrannous, if only they had given better government! Yet, when the kings

were gone, the republics, the four of them, have exhibited the group weaknesses of division, ultra-conservatism and corruption.

The study under review, which deals with only one phase of the national life, the military, speaks to us once again of the old age of France. Would there be conscription and universal military service or would there not be; if there would be how were the details to be worked out, how long would the boys have to serve. Hardly better than in the mid-twentieth century were the French republicans able to agree upon a policy. As our author says, ". . . it would be both pointless and tedious to trace the long, complicated, and lugubrious history of the many legislative attempts to refashion the French nation in arms. . . . (p. 57)" "And . . . as early as 1885 the Chamber of Deputies had approved a three-year conscription bill only to find that the Senate flatly refused to enact the legislation—a setback which led to four years of controversy, confusion, and stalemate (*ibid.*)". Comes the Dreyfus case which split the nation wide open. "The angry emotions of the years of Dreyfusard agitation produced an atmosphere of republican intransigence. Like the radicals of the Second Empire, the deputies who wrote the 1905 law were dogmatic, overconfident, and . . . antimilitarist (p. 61)." After decades of petty wrangling, with the republicans fighting Church and army, and amidst a declining birth rate, comes World War I. The Germans swept like an avalanche over northeastern France. The genius of Joffre and the heroism of the French individual soldier stopped the over-confident Germans. Both sides believed in a short war, but the war was long and the French would have again been beaten had not the United States, just in the nick of time, given a blood transfusion. Exhausted France became apathetic and the republic corrupt, while the same illness, lack of group coherence, continued. "Thus the decade of the thirties—when military theories became stagnant and a divided nation became lost in introspection and party warfare—did not provide an atmosphere conducive to the development of dynamic concepts of the nation in arms (p. 220)."

This book offers a detailed study of one phase of French republican life. It is not unsympathetic, but it points a moral: the fatality of group division. An excellent bibliography is a help to the specialist in the field and a good index facilitates a reference to specified topics.

Peter Masten Dunne, University of San Francisco.

AMERICAN

Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of New York, by Bernard Bellush. New York. Columbia University Press. 1955. pp. xiii, 338. \$5.00.

Rarely does the administration of a State governor merit the attention of a monograph, and this study derives its significance more from its relation to the subsequent career of Roosevelt than from his achievements as a State executive. The author himself concedes that the subject of this book influenced the social, economic, and political development of New York less than the preceding administration of Al Smith.

Dr. Bellush has wisely adopted a topical rather than a chronological approach, making each chapter a distinct essay on an important problem of the Roosevelt regime in the Empire State. The adaptability of these chapter headings as an outline of the later New Deal is indeed striking.

Even the supporting cast of characters is largely the same, since Roosevelt later took with him to Washington such Albany associates as James A. Farley, Felix Frankfurter, Harry Hopkins, Louis Howe, Henry Morgenthau Jr., Raymond Moley, Rexford Tugwell, and Frances Perkins.

Among the problems that dogged Roosevelt's steps from the governorship to the presidency were relief of depression victims, security of bank deposits and investments, parity for the farmer, social security legislation, labor relations, prohibition, and the control of electric power as well as of other public utilities. His position on these issues is presented as a mixture of liberal thought and political expediency. Expediency is evident in his change of attitude toward the depression: in 1929 he professed a faith in the American economy similar to that of Hoover; by August, 1931, he was recommending to a special session of the New York legislature a Temporary Emergency Relief Administration to furnish employment, food, clothing, and shelter for needy persons. With Harry Hopkins as executive director, the TERA adumbrated accurately indeed the FERA, CWA, and WPA of the New Deal.

On the other hand, the Governor appears as a true liberal in his views on electric power and utilities as early as his inauguration; he is seen as a persistent opponent of private interests in public utilities throughout his career. In this struggle he achieved no substantial victory until he was in position to launch an attack from the vantage point of the presidency.

Not all of his administration as governor, however, was a rehearsal for the New Deal. Students of State government and New York history will find illuminating chapters on the executive budget, prison administration, and parole system of the Empire State. The story of his shifting relationship with Tammany is brought to a climax at the end of the book in a lucid account of the Seabury investigation and the forced resignation of Mayor Jimmy Walker.

Although striving for objectivity with evident sincerity—a sincerity demonstrated by his careful study of the private correspondence as well as of the public papers of Roosevelt—the author writes in frank admiration of his subject. The book stands far removed from the extremes of John T. Flynn's strictures and Basil Rauch's laudations; attention is called to FDR's vacillation and shallowness of thought, but he emerges as an outstanding liberal. His proposals are "constructive" while his opponents are "obstructionists." Whether in agreement or not with such assumptions, the reader will derive a deeper understanding of the New Deal as well as of important problems of State government.

Thomas P. Conry, Xavier University.

Little Engines and Big Men, by Gilbert A. Lathrop. Caldwell, Ida. Caxton. 1954. pp. 326. \$5.00.

On Friday, February 2, 1951, the last narrow-gauge passenger train operating in the United States made its farewell run between Alamosa and Durango, Colorado. This event marked the end of an era of railroad transportation. The narrow-gauge had served its purpose well, it had helped make possible the exploitation of the gold fields of Colorado in a particular way. The present book is a sketchy history of the part of the narrow-gauge in the development of Colorado, and in the fortunes of the

Lathrop family. The railway enthusiast may like this book; the scholar will not. It contains many interesting anecdotes, and much general information, but there is neither documentation, nor bibliography, nor index. It is rather the reminiscences of the Lathrop clan, all of whom seem to be railroad-minded. The now abandoned roads of the Denver, South Park and Pacific, the Florence and Cripple Creek, and most of all the Denver and Rio Grande receive some attention. The Denver and Rio Grande, which has since added "Western" to its title, is a fascinating railroad, but its history still remains to be written. Some of the material of this present book appeared earlier in the periodical *Railroad Stories*. Undoubtedly the material lends itself much better to such treatment than to book form. One of the more interesting features of the book is the fine collection of photographs which are well reproduced in full plate size.

E. R. Vollmar, Saint Louis University.

Making Democracy a Reality, Jefferson, Jackson and Polk, by Claude G. Bowers. Memphis. Memphis State College Press. 1954. pp. ix, 170. \$3.75.

This book contains the J. P. Young Lectures in American History delivered by former Ambassador Claude Bowers at Memphis State College last year. The first deals with Thomas Jefferson, the second with James Polk, the third and fourth with Andrew Jackson. As is evident from the title of the book, these lectures stress the contributions made to the American democratic tradition by these three Presidents of the United States whose lives spanned the first seventy years of the country's history. The author has written on Jefferson and Jackson before and largely in the same vein. His works concerning them were among the first which were not written in the tradition of American Whiggery as distinguished from the English Whig tradition so ably analyzed by Professor Butterfield. The tone of the book is affected by the fact that its contents were meant to be spoken and Mr. Bowers was influenced by that school of rhetoric of which the late Senator Albert Beveridge was a leading exponent. For a reader, the style is too hortatory.

After citing Macaulay's prediction that the United States would collapse because "a Babel of contradictory forces would arise to confuse the popular mind", the author expresses the hope that these lectures would enable their hearers and readers to "reappraise the democratic or the American way of life" and to familiarize themselves with "the processes and the struggles through which we established the governmental system and adopted the philosophy of life through which we have made phenomenal progress and become the most powerful nation on earth in which men are free". According to the author, Jefferson decisively established American democracy. Jackson, through his organization of a political party, made it functional. Polk, following out the general policies of his two predecessors, vastly extended its territorial domain and, by his bank, tariff and foreign policies, implemented their work.

Mr. Bowers is a partisan when it comes to appraising these men. For him Republicans were good and Federalists were bad; Whigs were bad and Democrats good. This unshaded use of the rhetorical device of antithesis weakens the book so far as the reader is concerned though it may have made the lectures more stimulating for their hearers. For example, he

nowhere adverts to the work of organization of the government done by the Federalists from 1789 to 1800, a task ably described by Mr. Leonard White. He reports the dinner party conversations at the home of Mrs. William Bingham but ignores the fact that, apart from the half-hearted disaffection of the extreme New England Federalists in 1814, a disaffection Jefferson gauged for what it was worth in a letter to the Portuguese minister, Correa da Serra, the Federalists out of power proved quite loyal to the country and its basic philosophy. Interestingly enough some of the staunchest supporters of Jackson had been Federalists. The names of Taney and Buchanan come to mind. The most notable treason trial of the period was that of Aaron Burr, a Republican.

The author also uses words to describe early nineteenth century men and events which have come to have meanings they would not have had at that time. He pictures Jefferson as a lone leader of the "masses" who sacrificed his social position to lead a crusade in their interests. While not minimizing Jefferson's contribution to democratic thought and action, it might be well to point out that he was the leader of a party which was as aristocratic in its composition as any thing the country had to show at the time. Among his chief supporters were his fellow plantation and slave owners of the South: Randolph of Roanoke, till his excessive individualism carried him away a most ardent Jeffersonian, Madison, Monroe, Taylor of Caroline, to mention but a few, were hardly sansculottes. If anything they were landed gentlemen reacting to an embryonic plutocracy which would come to power after the Civil War. The then overwhelmingly agricultural population of the country is hardly well described by using the word "masses". This word gained currency among collectivists when they wished to refer to the urban laborers of the mid-nineteenth century and later. Its application to the farmers, mechanics and merchants of the late eighteenth century in the United States throws a hue over that period which was not there. It is improbable that the individualistic American citizens of that era would have regarded its use in their regard as a compliment.

The better sections of the book are those which deal with the rash behavior of the Federalists in trying to curb freedom of speech and the press, with Jackson's part in organizing the Democratic Party and with the nature and functions of political parties in general, and with the true nature of the period referred to as "the era of good feelings". The character and accomplishments of Polk are in accord with the recent revisions of the "New England" school of historical writing on that President.

Vincent C. Hopkins, Fordham University.

Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule During the American Revolution, by Elisha P. Douglass.

Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina. 1955. pp. 368. \$5.00.

This thought-provoking book deals, not with the struggle for American rights against Britain, but with the contest for power among the patriots in the several colony-states—is concerned with the Internal rather than the External Revolution. Professor Douglass, laboring in the vineyard opened by John Franklin Jameson's *The American Revolution Considered As a Social Movement*, finds among the patriots two rather well defined groups, the "democrats" who sought above all to gain the suffrage for all adult

white males and government by majority, and the "Whigs" or "Whig leaders," who clung to voting restrictions based upon property and contended for government ultimately dominated by the qualified acting according to conscience. His "Whigs" and "Whig leaders" include those designated "conservatives" by other scholars and some whom they might describe as "radicals". In brief, the "democrats" were striving to establish the basic features of modern American "democracy". They were chiefly to be found among the farmers in the interior and the artisans and laborers in the towns. They lacked leadership and were unable to achieve their goals in the Thirteen States, except, because of fortuitous circumstances, in Pennsylvania. They did, however, win in several states political concessions which were important steps on the road to white male suffrage and to majority rule.

It may shock a few persons to learn that Professor Douglass does not find Thomas Jefferson to have been a "democrat," even though the great Virginian was highly civilized and liberal-minded. Yet he is doubtless justified in this view. He may be open to attack on another ground, because he depreciates the work of Jefferson as a reformer. One might derive impressions from Professor Douglass's book that the struggle which Jefferson and Madison waged for separation of church and State in Virginia was not vitally important, that Jefferson's attack on primogeniture and entail was of little significance. Also, it is doubtful that Jefferson's attacks upon aristocracy were mere assaults against the Tories, as Professor Douglass believes them to have been.

The author does not claim to have indited definitively the history of the conflict between "democrats" and "Whigs" in the Revolutionary era. Indeed, he describes the struggle in detail in fewer than half of the Thirteen States, North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts specially receiving his attention. His definitions, his estimates of people, and his interpretations of the significance of events will bring him adverse criticism, especially of the semantic variety. He has nevertheless made excellent use of scattered and often scanty materials to throw a brighter light than we have hitherto had upon what was the most important phase of the Internal Revolution. Because of the nature and scope of his subject Professor Douglass's book is not easily read. It may, however, be very profitably read.

John R. Alden, Duke University.

Our Yankee Heritage, New England's Contribution to American Civilization.
by Carleton Beals. New York. David McKay. 1955. pp. 311. \$4.00.

There is a popular belief that New England has a heightened self-consciousness, and that its glory in its regionalism is not much less than that of Texas. This may or may not be true, but if it is, Carleton Beals' newest among his many volumes is certain to add just a bit to the feeling of exaggerated self-importance and self-differentiation that is identified with the old New England states.

This is a most readable book, and it is written in a style that is worthy of an eminent author. Each of the eighteen chapters is essentially a complete historical or biographical essay, and yet Mr. Beals has a central purpose in this volume.

The stated purpose is to show how New England was the place of origin of free institutions, of original skills, and new products. These then, were carried across the mountains into the West, and they comprise New England's contribution to American civilization. For example, when the Pilgrims "agreed that every man should build his own house," instead of working in common, the author observes that this marked the putting into practice of individual initiative, free enterprise, and private property that provided the pattern for laying out later New England towns, the Northwest Territory, and beyond.

Most of the chapters are devoted to one individual each: Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, Roger Sherman, Ezra Stiles, Robert Gray, Eli Whitney, Charles Goodyear, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and others who may be somewhat less well known outside of New England. These characters are miscellaneous in interests and activities. They range from the clergyman to the inventor; from the statesman to "The Father of Mass Production," but collectively, through their devotion, industry, perseverance, and ingenuity, they fashioned our Yankee Heritage.

Mr. Beals has a deep appreciation for New England, and he is capable of discerning that which is dramatic, as well as significant. The author's story of John Durkee, a native of Connecticut and Revolutionary War patriot is a high adventure yarn. And those who recall Ezra Stiles only as a one-time president of Yale, will find him to be an adventurer of another type—an explorer into the world of the intellect. "He helped the American mind to become an adult mind," concludes Mr. Beals.

Beginning on page 161, the author writes, "During the Revolution all but one of the states had adopted new constitutions that . . . swept away property and literacy restrictions on officeholding and voting, and provided other far-reaching popular reforms. For the first time, the city mechanics and workmen had obtained the vote. Representation shifted from taxable property to population."

The foregoing is an error, although not a rare error. It rests on the belief that the Revolution which produced independence automatically brought democracy to the new states. The Revolution emphatically did not do this! The informed scholar recalls that exactly 25 years ago, the late Edward Channing compiled his chart for the thirteen original states and laid out the eligibility requirements for public officials and the qualifications for voters. In the main, these requirements were still high and were based upon property holding or tax payments. Thus, to cite just one New England state, the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 made it mandatory for senators to have a freehold of £300 or a personal estate of £600. Lesser, but still strict requirements existed for state representatives. And to vote, one had to enjoy a £3 income from freehold or any estate of £60 value.

Most of the subject matter in this book is identified with the Colonial, Revolutionary, and Early National Periods. Selected chapters will make excellent collateral reading for College or Senior High School history classes. The book has no illustrations, no footnotes, no bibliography, no index. The only maps, and the two are identical, are on the inside covers.

Richard L. Beyer, Gannon College.

The Brownson Reader, ed. with an introduction by Alvan S. Ryan. New York. P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1955. pp. 370. \$4.50.

Americans should know Orestes Brownson. He had one of the best minds of the past century and, since he had a quarterly at his disposal, he spoke his mind on all the problems that plagued his generation. Most of these problems are perennial and hence still confront us today under a transient historical context. To know Brownson, then, is a rewarding experience, for it is stimulating to see a good, probably a great, mind probing and resolving a controversial issue.

This volume is intended to introduce the reader to Brownson and the introduction is properly and ably made. For those who know neither Brownson nor his age (and one must know the age to understand him), a brief (pp. 1-27) biographical sketch prefaces the selection of writings. His writings have been ordered according to six major problem areas: society and politics, education, literature, philosophy, religion, and church and state or the spiritual and temporal orders. To give the reader Brownson's views on these six areas of thought four essays, somewhat edited, have been selected. The time range is from 1836, when he was a Unitarian and greatly concerned with the cause of the laboring class, to 1870, sixteen years after he became a Catholic and six years before his death. Each section has an editor's preface and each selection a few explanatory notes. The reader will find references to books and articles on Brownson in these prefaces, and it is heartening to see the growing literature on the man. It would have been a real help if the publisher had conceded the editor a few more pages to list these writings together at the end of the volume.

The many virtues of Brownson's mind and pen are evident in these essays and the reader will, I am sure, recognize and enjoy and draw profit from them. Notice, for instance, where he places the conservative in politics. Not in the "stationary party," but in the conservative section of the party of progress, "seeking progress through and in obedience to existing institutions" (p. 66). His deficiencies, too, will be observed in these pages. He expressed his views in a tone of finality that tended to irritate; and sometimes his strong sympathies betrayed his judgment, as when, in 1840, his regard for the working class persuaded him that the abolition of the inheritance of property was the basic cure for their depressed status. Later Brownson would be warning the community against the humanitarian "carried away by a vague generality" who today advocated the abolition of this and tomorrow the abolition of that until society itself had been abolished. Brownson knew the type of man he had in mind, for he himself had, with God's grace, passed safely through that stage. But his sympathies were sound. Brownson was exceedingly grateful for those graces, and it is reflected in his essay on Emerson's prose work (pp. 175-182), written in the autumn of his life. He recognizes and pays tribute to Emerson's genius and sincerely regrets his rejection of Christianity and the supernatural for naturalism. He knew full well that but for the grace of God Emerson's road could have been Brownson's.

Brownson's works are not easily accessible to students and to the public. It is time they were, and we hope this volume will be followed by editions of his writings. *The Brownson Reader* should kindle the demand for them.

William L. Lucey, Holy Cross College.

The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1775, by Lawrence Henry Gipson. *The New American Nation Series*. Edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris. New York. Harper and Brothers. 1954. pp. xvi, 287. \$5.00.

This book, one of the first to appear in the projected 40-odd volume *New American Nation Series*, is designed to take the place of *The Preliminaries of the Revolution* (New York, 1905), by George E. Howard, in the old series, *The American Nation: A History* (28 volumes, 1904-1918). Just as Professor Howard embodied in his book on the constitutional crisis between the colonists and the mother country the fruits of his generation's research scholarship, so Gipson, professor emeritus of American History at Lehigh University, brings to bear on the same topic the prodigious findings of the last half century, no small part of which he himself unearthed in preparing his multi-volume *The British Empire before the American Revolution*. In the book here under review Professor Gipson has used original source materials not available in Howard's day, partly because adequate guides to manuscript collections were then lacking. Although Howard's bibliography is still useful, it seems thin and meagre when placed alongside the wealth of materials in Gipson's 44-page classified list which is especially good on official documents in print and manuscript, pamphlets and contemporary history, monographs and scholarly contributions in journals and periodicals.

Some of these materials the author does not bring within the focus of attention because in his mature judgment they deal with matters that had little or nothing to do with the imperial rupture. Gipson does not think that commerce, church policy or westward expansion, which most recent historians list among the primary causes of the Revolution, seriously figured in the contest. The struggle stemmed, he insists, from the divergent interests of the new British empire in need of revenue and the budding nationalism of the Atlantic seaboard English colonies which deemed Parliamentary taxation an assault upon their constitutional liberties, if not upon their economic welfare.

To this theme Professor Gipson brings the authority of a ringing emphasis born of a lifetime's study and investigation. He enters into no formal analysis of economic or political theory. He prefers rather to concentrate on the several Parliamentary tax laws and related measures which evoked within the empire a great "political maneuver", fusing economic and constitutional issues into a progressively revolutionary movement. On the assumption that all parts of the British empire recognized its value and would never countenance its dissolution, the English people demanded of Parliament that it shift a portion of the imperial burden to the colonists whose tax rate was only about one-twentieth that of island Englishmen. The colonists, rejoicing in an unexampled prosperity and sensing, with the French menace removed, little need for military assistance from beyond the seas, refused assent to either internal or external taxation, claiming an autonomous status within the empire. Failing to secure colonial consent and unwilling to grant autonomy, the Ministry resorted to coercion, firm and continuous resistance to which resulted in revolution.

Though his thesis is not new, he defends it with a directness and cogency equaled by no previous historian. Half his pages is devoted to the Stamp

Act, its background and antecedents. Mainly to demonstrate that the colonists were able though unwilling to pay taxes levied by Parliament, Gipson devotes the first two chapters in the second half of the book to the situation—economic and political—in the separate Northern and Southern colonies, old and new. If these chapters barely touch on the radical conservative alignment in each of the colonies, they add substance and momentum to the over-all theme which moves swiftly to its culmination in the last four chapters which are concerned with the Townshend Act, the Tea Act, the Coercive Acts and the First Continental Congress. The book, then, is well and effectively organized. Good as is the presentation, the materials on which it is based are perhaps of even greater interest to teacher and scholar. Attention to the footnotes and bibliography will prove rewarding.

Aaron I. Abell, University of Notre Dame.

Pictorial History of the Wild West, by James D. Horan, and Paul Sann. New York. Crown. 1954. pp. 254. \$5.95.

The sub-title of the present book states that it is "A True Account of the Bad Men, Desperadoes, Rustlers, and Outlaws of the Old West—and the Men Who Fought Them to Establish Law and Order." And this is a good description, for there is no attempt to glamorize the sordidness of the early west, and each of the characters receives a brief, true, though at times, deflating, sketch. The book is made up largely of portraits, although a number of other photos are included. Perhaps more would have been used could authentic pictures have been located. One thing that is missing is the Indian. Certainly in any pictorial history of the West the Indian is worthy of some consideration. Once opened this is not a book that can be easily set aside until you have paged through the entire contents. The arrangement is a little difficult to understand, but the book contains an index of names and places. There is also an excellent bibliography, and page of picture credits in case the reader is interested in pursuing any particular story further. One of the really amazing features is that a work of such merit and size is available at such a reasonable price—a price that makes it almost a must for every library with a budget of any kind.

E. R. Vollmar, Saint Louis University.

Anselm Weber, O.F.M., Missionary to the Navahos, by Robert Wilken. O.F.M. Milwaukee. Brice. 1955. pp. 234. \$4.50.

Straight from the land of mesquite and pungent pinon saunters the heart-warming story of Fr. Anselm Weber, O.F.M., Missionary to the Navaho. Fr. Anselm's footsteps led to Blue Mountain, Bear Tank, Round Rock—place names that ring like freshly minted dollars to carry your imagination back to the beginning of missionary work among what was then the largest tribe of pagan Indians in the United States. Some folk think a missionary's life is dramatic as a thunder clap. The fervent preacher of the gospel mounts a lightning blasted tree stump, lifts a glittering crucifix against the blue sky, and proclaims the sweet coming of the Gospel in tones dulcet as a cello at twilight. In response, eager-eyed natives crowd around anxious for the sparkling waters of Baptism. The life of Anselm Weber shows that such an undernourished concept parches and curls up at the edges under the fierce sun of reality.

Time-wrinkled Navaho sitting in front of their sun-baked mud hogans squint with skepticism, and view with jaundiced eye the strange doings of the "long dragging robes" who write "paper words" and dig fence-post holes in the rocky hillside. Their enthusiasm for the missionary's dogmatic assertions was dry as an arroyo bed, and receptive as a prickly cactus. With experience sun-ripened on the vine of maturity, Anselm Weber viewed his labors with detached spirit and wrote: "With reference to the adult portion of the tribe, we are trying to uplift them morally and economically, instead of beginning with preaching the Gospel to yet unprepared and unwilling ears."

With disarming frankness the author states the variance of opinions concerning missionary procedure. Fr. Marcellus Troester, second superior of St. Michaels, cut down on expenditures formerly made to feed and keep the many Indians who looked on St. Michael's as a free inn. Fr. Leopold Ostermann and Br. Haile held for a continuation of Anselm Weber's policy. Archbishop Bourgade said the boarding school was "Stuffing these little Indians with an endless number of pious practices . . . simply calculated to give them a lasting aversion for practicing their religion later on." Even benefactors had their ideas on how to run the school. Mrs. Joseph Whorton Drexel, the aunt of Mother Katharine Drexel, pledged \$600 annually on condition the mission would operate a day school "so pupils can still be with the parents whom God has given them."

Though the Navaho did not come flocking for bargain counter conversions, they appreciated, loved, and valued their beloved Fr. Anselm Weber. Their spokesman, Chee Dodge, said to Fr. Weber: "The Navahos are very anxious. If you left them, they would feel like they had lost . . . their main teeth." The story of Anselm Weber is splashed with the sweat of a great missionary who was content to work on a rocky mission field that was "not only hard in the extreme, but so very indefinite, painfully slow, and all but disheartening".

John M. Scott, Campion College, Wis.

History of Nebraska, by James C. Olson. Lincoln. University of Nebraska Press, 1955. pp. xii, 372. \$5.00.

Dr. Olson, Superintendent of the Nebraska State Historical Society and a member of the University of Nebraska history faculty, contributes an excellent survey of his state's history. The publishers claim that this is the "first comprehensive and authoritative history of the state for adult readers, and the first one-volume history by a professional historian."

Nebraska's early problems were those of the Midwestern frontier—in fact there was a minimum of Nebraska history in Professor Olson's treatment of the fur trade, the Oregon trail, and the Mormon migration. The Hodder thesis as to Douglas' motives for opening the Indian territory to settlement serves as the foundation for the chapter concerned with the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Territorial and early state history receives special consideration, and successive chapters, blending chronological-topical treatment, carry the story to 1954. The final chapter entitled "Cultural Factors in Nebraska Life" devotes overly brief sections to churches, schools, and the arts.

At times the work is sketchy and superficial; at times statistical tables adversely affect readability; but generally the book reads well and the author plows deeply in virgin soil. Dr. Olson's discussion of "the struggle over statehood" fails to tie Congressional insistence upon Nebraska's admission to the Radical Republican plans for Reconstruction and the impeachment of President Johnson. Nor does he indicate that the two U. S. senators whom the Nebraska Legislature named repaid the Radicals by voting for the conviction of the president in the subsequent impeachment proceedings.

Maps are too few in number and wholly inadequate. The role of Nebraska troops in the Civil War is treated too briefly. There is too little on Ogallala as a cowtown although the chapter on the range cattle industry is one of the best. The Americanization of the "New Immigration" is inadequately treated. At times reading Nebraska's history borders on boredom—either the state's history lacks color and human interest or Dr. Olson's literary style needs polishing.

On the whole, however, this volume presents a balanced and scholarly history of Nebraska. Excellent illustrations are included. Each chapter is followed by "Suggested Reading." The index is adequate, and the University of Nebraska Press deserves an orchid for an excellent job of bookmaking.

Frank L. Klement, Marquette University.

The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs. A Study in the Origins and Powers of the Town Council in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1520-1700, by John Preston Moore, Durham, N. C. Duke University Press. 1954. pp. 309. \$6.00.

The pattern in Spain of conceding considerable self-government to the towns during the conquest of the Moors and then having it removed by absolute sovereigns was followed in the New World. The *cabildos*, or town councils, enjoyed many privileges during the conquest period of the sixteenth century but beginning with Philip II lost them gradually to Hapsburg supremacy.

Local government centered in the *casa de cabildo*, or town hall, which always occupied a prominent place on the main plaza whether the town was established for strategic, religious, mining, or agricultural reasons. Here were passed the numerous regulations concerning land, industry, trade, sanitation, education, fiestas, and general welfare over which the city council ruled until its power was curbed. Here were held rather free elections by voice or at times by secret ballot of the local officials until the king began to sell government jobs to the highest bidder. Office holding frequently meant personal prestige, and a place on the council once brought 10,000 pesos in silver-rich Potosí. Of the twenty or more offices filled by the cabildo in large cities the *alférez real*, or royal standard bearer, and the *pregonero*, or town crier, were much before the public eye.

The right of petition was frequently used. "If the port of Buenos Aires be closed, we shall go naked or in garments of skin . . ." wrote the Bishop of Tucumán in petitioning the king for a continuance on trade with Brazil in 1600. The king granted this request for a period of six years, but many of the cabildo procurators who journeyed to Madrid with petitions did so in vain. Some forty regional convocations of cabildo procurators were held to discuss

the way of presenting grievances, but the Hapsburgs soon began to frown on such expressions of sectional interests and incipient representative government.

The most noteworthy organ for recording public opinion was the *cabildo abierto*, or open town meeting. Composed of the important citizens of the community, it seemed to have free and uncensored discussions on taxes or other matters submitted for its approval or ratification.

Concord between the *cabildo* and the Church in religious matters was sometimes marred by controversies over land, tithes, and clerical privileges. The greed of officials in Indian villages vitiated the benevolent regulations of the crown designed to protect the aborigines. Quarrels between cities over Indians and land occurred. Corruption caused discontent. In brief, when the economic and political liberties of the municipalities were undermined by royal interference, local government suffered deterioration.

As a comprehensive study of how towns were governed this book fulfills its purpose admirably. Its organization is clear, footnotes are complete, and the material on elections and social conditions is carefully selected. Illustrations from *cabildo* records of Quito, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, and other cities add atmosphere. The extensive bibliography includes manuscript and printed primary sources in Spanish and English and Spanish secondary source books and periodicals. A French map dated 1703 shows the principal settlements of the continent. Although the study is restricted to the Viceroyalty of Peru, which included all of Spanish South America during Hapsburg times, the type of local government portrayed is typical of all the Spanish colonies in the New World.

William H. Gray, The Pennsylvania State University.

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This bibliography is intended to be of service to teachers and students of history by presenting a fairly complete list of historical works announced or published since the previous issue of *The Historical Bulletin*. An asterisk denotes a review of the book in this or a later issue. Unfortunately sometimes the price and number of pages were not obtainable.

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 Baron, Hans, *Crisis of Early Italian Renaissance*. Princeton. 2v. \$10.00.
 Coulton, G. G., *Medieval Panorama*. Noonday. pp. 801. \$1.95 paper. When this book first appeared in 1938 reviewers varied in their appraisals. One reviewer seemed to hit the mark when he compared the author to a photographer taking snapshots. If such a photographer made a collection of accurate photographs of the slums and garbage pits of a modern American city and then published it under the title of "The City of . . . in Pictures," he would justly be accused of presenting not the city but a damaging and untrue (and of course unscholarly) caricature of the reality. The method of selection and insinuation generally used by the author of this book seems to have been almost identical. This paper-bound re-issue merits the same comment.
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